MEDIEVALISM IN SHAKESPEARE'S HAMLET

by

SISTER M. BONAVENTURE MCKENNA, O. S. B.

A. B., Creighton University, 1921

A THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

MASTER OI SCIENCE

KANSAS STATE COLLEGE

OF AGRICULTURE AND APPLIED SCIENCE

1937

Document
LD
2668
T4
1937
1133
C.2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PURPOSE 1

METHOD 2

INTRODUCTION 3

MEDIEVAL CIVIL LIFE IN HAMLET 11

Introduction 12

Popular Folk Custom 22

Popular Folk Lore 26

Education 32

MEDIEVAL POLITICAL LIFE IN HAMLET 41

Introduction 42

Court Custom 52

Military Custom 55

Government 56

MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE IN HAMLET 58a

Introduction 59

Religious Folk Custom 70

Liturgy 72

Religious Teaching 76

FINDINGS 83

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS 87

TRANSLATIONS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE QUOTATIONS IN THESIS 88

REFERENCES 98

PURPOSE

Shakespeare lived at a point in history scarce a century removed from the close of medieval times. Moreover, he was born and reared in Warwickshire, a rural section of England, where thought and manner had been less strongly affected by the changes of the century than had those of the urban centers. Finally, it was to the writers of medieval times that Shakespeare and his contemporaries turned for the inspiration for a large portion of their dramatic productions. Consequently, we must expect to find much that is medieval in the plays of Shakespeare and of his fellow-writers of the Elizabethan period.

The purpose of this study is an attempt at a brief classification of the references to things medieval in social, political and ecclesiastical life, as exemplified in the Shakespearean tragedy, Hamlet. Those references are included which allude to practice, dogma or thought of medieval time, regardless of whether such practices, dogmas and ideals had originated before, or have been continued since. However, no allusion is considered which does not antedate 1500, A. D., which date is commonly considered as

the close of the middle ages[1], as it marks approximately the period at which the Renaissance brought about a revolution in the world of culture, the Reformation in that of religion, and the discovery of the Western Continent in that of politics, thus introducing the modern era.

METHOD

A careful survey of the source material available was made for the three colleges: Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas; St. Benedict's College, Atchison, Kansas; and Mount St. Scholastica College, Atchison, Kansas.

An annotated bibliography of the topics under study as treated in the literature available in the libraries of these colleges was next made.

After this preliminary preparation, the drama, Hamlet, was carefully examined for allusions to the topics selected for special study. The annotated bibliography and the collection of allusions formed the material on which this thesis is based. Migne's Patrologia Latina, a compilation of medieval works, was the source of many references, and

---

[1]Shahan, Thomas J., The Middle Ages, pp. 136-139.

is indicated throughout the thesis by the abbreviation, P. L.

INTRODUCTION

The medieval era, which forms the time scope for the present study of Shakespeare's Hamlet, is the second of the three great time divisions of the Christian era, and may be considered as extending from about the fourth century[2] till the sixteenth[3].

The middle ages, in turn, may be considered as being divided into three great time periods; the first extending to the coronation of Charlemagne; the second from that time till the fourteenth century; and the last to the sixteenth century[4].

The first of these periods (312-800 A. D.) is that of transition from the old Roman Empire to the new one which was to become a center for European action for the next five centuries. At its beginning, the laws and customs of old classic Rome formed the working basis for society.

---

[2] Sellery, G. D. and Krey, A. C., Medieval Foundations of Western Civilization, p. 1.
[3] Shahan, Thomas J., The Middle Ages, pp. 136-139.
[4] Betton, Francis S., Ancient and Medieval History, pp. 287, 333.

Soon they were modified by the influences of the barbarians who crowded down from the north of Europe[5], by the Mohammedans who penetrated into Spain in the early eighth century[6], and lastly by the Catholic Church, the only social force unaffected by the collapse of the old Roman Empire and the inroads of the barbarian and the Moslem[7].

The second period (800-1500 A. D.) of the middle ages, enjoying a comparative stability of government under the Holy Roman Empire, included within its term three great movements which have profoundly affected the history of all time since. These three movements were: the organization of the Crusades, the founding of the univereities, and the evolution of the feudal system.

The last centuries of the second period of the middle ages were years of great progress and achievement. They witnessed the origin of modern classical literature, embracing the Spanish Cid, the English Arthurian legends, the German Niebelungenlied and the works of the Minnesingers and the Meistersingers, the French Trouveres and troubadours, ending with the earlier works of the great Ital-

---

[5] Betten, Francis S., Ancient and Medieval History, p. 298.
[6] Ibid., p. 316.
[7] Ibid., p. 302.

ian, Dante[8].

The modern drama takes its rise from this second period of medieval history. In England it seems to find its origin in the Quem Quaeritis trope[9], in Italy in the Nativity plays of St. Francis of Assisi[10].

The center of medical knowledge during this period was Salernum, in southern Italy. Its physicians were mentioned as early as the ninth century and several books of medieval medicine were either translated or composed there [11].

The modern trade union had a counterpart in the guild system of the middle ages, whose prosperity occurred in the years between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These guilds were formed as protective associations of merchants or craftsmen, and were economic, political and relitious in their aims and achievements. They regulated prices and wages, stipulating periods and conditions of apprenticeship and journeymanship; served as social and religious confraternities for their members; and as a power

---

[8] Walsh, James J., The Thirteenth, the Greatest of Centuries, p. 167.

[9] Adams, Joseph Q., Chief Pre-Shakespearean dramas, p. 712.

[10] Walsh, James J., The Thirteenth, the Greatest of Centuries, p. 239.

[11] Osler, Sir William, Evolution of Modern Medicine, pp. 86-88.

to be reckoned with by state authorities, they helped gain political power for the lower classes[12].

The governments of the age were monarchical in character, absolute in theory and usually absolute in practice. The power of the king was tempered by the usages of the feudal system, which tended to diminish the central authority of the magistrate or baron[13].

St. Thomas of Aquin (d. 1274) was surprisingly modern in his enunciation of the theory of government:

> "One of the principle things to be considered with regard to the good establishment of princes is that all should have part in the government; for in this way peace is preserved among the people, and all are pleased with such a disposition of things and maintain it. The next thing to be considered is the form of government, of which there are principally two kinds: a Kingdom, in which one rules, and an Aristocracy, in which a few exercise the authority. The best form is that in which one rules over all, and under him are others having authority, but the government pertains to all, because those who exercise authority can be chosen from all and are chosen by all"[14].

The second period of the middle ages saw also the establishment of two religious orders which through the

---

[12] Dewe, John Adalbert, History of Economics, p. 149.

[13] Ibid., pp. 86-88.

[14] St. Thomas, Summa Theologica, 1^a, 2^{ae}, quaestio 108, 1^a.

labors of their members, were to exert a great influence over the society, not only of their own day, but also over our times as well. St. Dominic[15] (1170-1221) and St. Francis of Assisi[16] (1180-1226) founded the two religious orders which bear their names. Among the famous sons of St. Dominic are St. Thomas of Aquin and Albert the Great; those of St. Francis are Duns Scotus, Alexander Hales, St. Bonaventure and Roger Bacon. Dante and Louis IX of France both belonged to the third order, which St. Francis of Assisi organized as a confraternity for the laity.

The third period of the middle ages embraces the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. During this time there arose in Italy an increase in fervor in the study of the classical masterpieces of pagan Rome. This literary aspect of the Renaissance called Humanism, because of its emphasis on the classics as opposed to theological learning[17], included not only the study of the classics, but also of the languages in which they were written, and the creation of new literary productions, either in classical tongues, or

---

[15] Robinson, Paschal, Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. VI, pp. 107-109.

[16] O'Connor, John B., Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. VI, pp. 221-230.

[17] Sellery, G. D. and Krey, A. C., Medieval Foundations of Western Civilization, p. 561.

in the vernacular.

Francis Petrarch[18] (1304-1374) is considered the father of humanism, as the new learning was called to distinguish it from scholasticism. He was educated for the law, but preferred to devote himself to literature. For a number of years he wandered through the cities of Italy, seeking the codices which preserved the literary works of classic times. He discovered works of Cicero, and part of the Institutiones of Quintilian. He wrote a number of Latin works, but his fame rests on his Italian verse, particularly the Trionfi and the Canzoniere. These two works established a style of writing termed Petrarchism, which persisted until the literary mode changed to that of copying only the original classic models.

About 1350 began the friendship between Petrarch and Boccaccio[19] (1313-1375) which lasted till the death of the former. Boccaccio lectured on the Commedia of Dante, wrote a biography of the great Tuscan poet, and compiled a dictionary of classic mythology, De genealogiis deorum gentilium. But his most famous work is the Decameron, rich and varied in adventure and analysis of feeling and passion.

---

[18] Ford, J. D. M., Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. XI, pp. 778-779.

[19] Dunn, Joseph, Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. II, pp. 607-608.

Like Shakespeare, Boccaccio borrowed his plots from many sources, but transmuted them by his genius into creations of individuality and beauty.

About 1450[20], John Gutenberg invented a printing press which employed movable type, and from Mains the art of printing quickly spread throughout Europe. The first printing press in Italy was set up at the ancient Benedictine abbey of Subiaco, the first house of the order, and thus it was that the monks who had preserved the treasures of learning during the dark times of the early middle ages were likewise the first to give to Italy the means of circulating more generously these treasures their scriptoria had hitherto so laboriously produced[21].

The invention of printing was followed closely by a series of events which mark a decided departure from the traditions of medieval times. The discovery of America[22] opened new lands to conquest and settlement; the Protectorate under Cromwell, a few years later (1653), marked a break in the century-old form of English government[23],

---

[20] Hayes, Carleton J. H. and Moon, Parker, Modern History, p. 86.
[21] Butler, Cuthbert, Benedictine Monachism, p. 551.
[22] Hayes, Carleton J. H. and Moon, Parker, Modern History, p. 50.
[23] Ibid., p. 257.

while the Reformation in Germany (1520)[24], and the defection of Henry VIII in England (1534)[25] destroyed the tie of religious unity which had bound Christendom to a common faith. Hence it is that the close of the fifteenth century is, by many historians, deemed the close of the medieval age.

Each of the three periods of medieval history contributed its quota to the betterment of society. The first saw the formation of the Holy Roman Empire from the scattered elements of the Roman state and the northern barbarian[26]; the second the organization of the Crusades, the rise of the universities, the foundation of new religious orders, and further advancement in government in the establishment of the feudal system[27]. The last period was signalized by the brilliance of its achievements, especially in art and in literature. With the Renaissance[28] as its climax thus ended the second period of the Christian era, the middle ages.

---

[24] Hayes, Carleton J. H. and Moon, Parker, Modern History, p. 104.
[25] Ibid., p. 107.
[26] Ibid., p. 23.
[27] Ibid., pp. 35-37.
[28] Ibid., pp. 29-31.

MEDIEVAL CIVIL LIFE IN *HAMLET*

INTRODUCTION TO MEDIEVAL CIVIL LIFE IN HAMLET

Shakespeare's tragedy of Hamlet contains many references to the customs of medieval peoples. The routine of their every-day life, their games, their folk-lore, their learning alike find notice in the play.

Hamlet's denunciation of the tendency of the Danes toward excessive drinking

> "This heavy-headed revel east and west
> Makes us traduced and tax'd of other nations:"[1]

finds a parallel in the complaint of William of Malmesbury, who in his Gesta Regum Anglorum, bewails the almost universal drunkenness of the Saxons at the time of the Conquest[2].

Hunting was a favorite out-door recreation of the medieval nobleman[3]. Hamlet's references to hunting:

> "Why do you go about to recover the wind of me,
> as if you would drive me into a toil?"[4]

---

[1] Hamlet, I, 4, 17-18.

[2] Kendall, Eliz. K., Source Book of English History, pp. 42-43.

[3] Dale, Edmund, National Life and Character in the Mirror of Early English Literature, pp. 203-207.

[4] Hamlet, III, 2, 331.

and to hawking:

> "We'll con to't like French falconers, fly at anything we see:"[5]

prove Shakespeare's familiarity with those forms of sport which had been dealt with in scientific treatises in the twelfth[6] and thirteenth centuries[7].

When forced to remain indoors the nobility passed their time feasting and listening to the minstrels or watching the jugglers[8]. The fool of the castle, of whom Yorick[9] is a type, furnished entertainment for his masters[10].

The mystery and morality plays gave both instruction and entertainment to their spectators[11]. Although Polonius' statement that he "played once i' the university"[12] refers to a rather modern form of drama, yet "out-herod's Herod" and "Termagent"[13] are both reminders of the typical

---

[5] Hamlet, II, 2, 434.
[6] Haskins, Chas. H., Studies in the History of Medieval Science, p. 299.
[7] Ibid., p. 28.
[8] Tappan, E. M., When Knights Were Bold, pp. 93-94.
[9] Hamlet, V, 1, 183.
[10] Salzman, L. F., English Life in the Middle Ages, p. 29.
[11] Dale, Edmund, National Life and Character in the Mirror of Early English Literature, pp. 249-250.
[12] Hamlet, III, 2, 100.
[13] Ibid., III, 2, 16.

medieval mystery cycles[14].

Shakespeare, in Laertes' exclamation, "The devil take thy soul"[15], takes note of the vice of cursing. Benedict the Deacon, 727 A. D., in his Collectio Capitularium enveighs against this same fault:

> "Quod hi nomen Domini adsumpserint, graviter feriantur".[16]

Hamlet's mourning suits of black[17] find medieval counterparts in writings of as early as the fifth and sixth centuries[18].

The folk-lore of the play contains many medieval notes. Hamlet's references to "the hands of fortune"[19] and "fortune's star"[20] recall passages from the great Italian poet, Dante[21]. The references to Fortune's wheel[22] have a parallel in a passage from a sermon of the philosopher, St. Bonaventure:

---

[14] Moulton, Richard Green, Modern Study of Literature, pp. 178-179.
[15] Hamlet, V, 1, 262.
[16] Benedictus Diaconus, Collectio Capitularium, Liber II, P. L. XCVII, column 753.
[17] Hamlet, I, 2, 78-79.
[18] Smith, Wm. and Cheetham, Samuel, Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, II, p. 1430.
[19] Hamlet, II, 2, 240.
[20] Ibid., I, 3, 33.
[21] Taylor, Howard Osborne, Medieval Mind, II, p. 750.
[22] Hamlet, II, 2, 500.

"Haec est illa corona, qua quis pingitur coronatus in rota fortunae; nam quia rota semper volvitur, nec ad momentum stare permittitur, cum ad summum pervenit, descendere cogitur."[23]

The ghost lore of Hamlet likewise finds many parallels in medieval writings. Shakespeare's frequent references to the power exercised by the cock over wandering spirits, particularly the speech of Horatius:

"But even then the morning cock crew loud,
And at the sound it shrunk in haste away,"[24]

has somewhat the ring of a selection from St. Bonaventure:

"Leo (diabolus) timet cantum galli et fugit..."[25]

The breviary hymn, ascribed to Prudentius

"Gallus jacentes excitat
Et somnolentes increpat"[26]

is reminiscent of another selection from the play, also ascribed to Horatius:

"The cock, that is the trumpet of the morn,
Doth with his lofty and shrill sounding throat
Awake the god of day:...."[27]

---

[23] St. Bonaventure, Sermones de Sanctis, P. L. XLII, Tom. 1S.
[24] Hamlet, I, 2, 217-218.
[25] St. Bonaventure, Sermones de Sanctis, XIV, 47a.
[26] Prudentius, Breviarium Monasticum, pars hiemalis, p. 61.
[27] Hamlet, I, 1, 150-152.

Hamlet's declaration that the ghost can do no harm to his soul[28] corresponds closely to the admission made by the familiar, Orthon, as recorded in Froissart's Chronicles:

> "I have no power to do ill to any one, only to awaken these and disturb thy rest, or that of other persons."[29]

The cathedral schools, required of every cathedral by the Council of Lateran in 1176[30], were the forerunners of the great medieval universities, which reached a high point of development in the thirteenth century[31]. Wittenberg, to which Shakespeare refers as the Alma Mater of Horatio[32], was not founded till post-medieval times. However the picture the insinuations of Polonius[33] suggest in regard to the university of Paris was substantiated by the turbulent character of many of the students and the rather nominal discipline often imposed upon them.

The astronomy of Hamlet, as that of the middle ages,

---

[28] Hamlet, I, 4, 66-67.
[29] Froissart, Sir John, Chronicles, p. 383.
[30] Stowe, John, Survey of London, p. 66.
[31] De Wulf, Maurice, History of Medieval Philosophy, pp. 263-264.
[32] Hamlet, I, 2, 113.
[33] Ibid., II, 1, 22.

is Ptolemaic. "Doubt that the sun doth move"[34] places the earth as the fixed center of the universe, the sun and planets revolving about it in transparent, concentric spheres[35]. The astronomy of the play often shades into astrology, agreeing with that of Venerable Bede, who asserted:

> "Cometae sunt stellae flammis orintae, repente nascentes, regni mutationem, aut pestilentiam, aut bella, vel ventos, aestusve portendentes."[36]

On the other hand, "We defy augury"[37] seems a more practical adoption of the view point of St. Bonaventure who insists that

> "...securius dici potest quod cometae aut non significare mortem principis, sed solum hoc accidit, quod moriatur in ejus apparitione."[38]

The medieval popular belief in the influence of the stars on the affairs of men, as manifested in many writers of those ages[39], seems sanctioned by Polonius' warning to Ophelia that

> "Lord Hamlet is a prince out of thy star."[40]

---

[34] Hamlet, II, 2, 117.
[35] Haskins, Chas.H., Studies in History of Medieval Science, pp. 100-102.
[36] Beda Venerabilis, De Natura Rerum, P. L. XC, pp. 243-244.
[37] Hamlet, V, 2, 223.
[38] St. Bonaventure, Sententiarum, Liber II, p. 602.
[39] Haskins, Chas.H., Studies in the History of Medieval Science, p. 602.
[40] Hamlet, II, 2, 142.

St. Bonaventure, true to his usual conservatism, refuses any such power to the stars, holding that to concede such a power would be to deny free will.

> "Si diversitas morum causaretur...a positionibus siderum...ergo non erit liberium, nec valebit consilium, nec meritum erit, nec laus, nec vituperium..."[41]

Shakespeare, in Hamlet's "plunge him into more choler"[42] subscribes to the medieval doctrine of the four humours, fluids of the living body, of which Hippocrates mentions four; blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile. These humours were considered to be the principal seats of disease in man[43]. Hugo de Folisto agrees with Hippocrates in his enumeration of the four humours:

> "Quatuor humores corporis humani sanguis, cholera rubra, cholera niger et phlegma."[44]

Health was secured by a proper proportion of these humours, a proportion often secured by blood letting, a method of treatment frequently subject to regulative code in monastic houses, and even by the decrees of civil authorities[45].

---

[41] St. Bonaventure, Sententiarum, Liber II, p. 600.
[42] Hamlet, III, 2, 291.
[43] Americana Encyclopedia, Vol. XIV, p. 494.
[44] Hugo de Folleto, De Medicina Animae, P. L. CLXXVI, col. 1184.
[45] Ludovicus et Lotharius, Capitularia, P. L. XCVII, col. 582.

The chemistry of the play is thoroughly medieval--resting on the four elements as its basis[46]. "...sea or fire... earth or air" Horatio thus declared the elements in the first act of the play[47]. The chemical reaction of petrification, noted by Frederick II in the thirteenth century[48], gives rise to an interesting simile by which the King compares the result of the people's love for Hamlet to "the spring that turneth wood to stone."[49]

Shakespeare, in Hamlet, agrees with Venerable Bede in acknowledging the rotundity of the earth:

"For so this side of our known world..."[50]

In addition to the testimony of Bede, we find a ninth century manuscript, formerly of Cambrai declaring:

"forma eius rotunda atque spiralis."[51]

The philosophy of the play, as that of the ages it depicts, is largely medieval. The works of St. Thomas of Aquin, of St. Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, St. Albert the Great and of St. Anselm furnish many passages parallel to

---

[46] Garrison, Fielding H., Introduction to History of Medicine, p. 80.
[47] Hamlet, I, 1, 153.
[48] Haskins, Chas.H., Studies in History of Medieval Science, p. 265.
[49] Hamlet, IV, 7, 20.
[50] Ibid., I, 1, 85.
[51] Haskins, Chas.H., Studies in History of Medieval Science, p. 100.

those of Hamlet. Especially interesting is the meditation of Hamlet, "What a piece of work is man."[52] and the expansion of the idea by Hugo de Folieto in a passage comparing man, the microcosm to the macrocosm, the universe.

> "Homo microcosmus, id est minor mundus appellari ab antiquo solet, quia per similitudinem majoris mundi figuram tenet. Potest autem assignari magna convenientia in compositione corporis humana et constitutione mundi. Unde coelum capiti, aere pectori, mari ventri, terra extrema corporis parti assimilatur."[53]

Throughout the play Shakespeare's philosophy of life is sound---free will is recognized by Hamlet's declaration:

> "Since my dear soul was mistress of her choice."[54]

The spirit of the dead king assumes the responsibility for his acts when he states that he must linger in Purgatory

> "Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature
> Are burnt and purged away..."[55]

Hamlet himself acknowledges the supreme importance of intention in determining the morality of actions:

> "...there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so."[56]

Finally, Hamlet in his exhortation to his mother to

---

[52] Hamlet, II, 2, 312.
[53] Hugo de Folieto, De Medicina Animae, P. L. CLXXVI, col. 1184.
[54] Hamlet, III, 2, 64.
[55] Ibid., I, 5, 13.
[56] Ibid., II, 2, 251-252.

separate from his uncle, agrees with St. Thomas of Aquin[57] in his statement of the psychology of self-restraint in the formation of good habits:

> ".....refrain tonight
> And that shall lend a kind of easiness
> To the next abstinence."[58]

A careful study of the play, from the view-point of the medieval gives a rather fair cross-section of the civil life of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

---

[57] St. Thomas, Summa Theologica, 22, XLIX-LXXXIX, Vol. 7, p. 82.

[58] Hamlet, III, 4, 162-164.

Popular Folk Custom

Medieval	Shakespeare
Black hood, gown and mantle used for mourning from 14th till 16th century[1].	"Good Hamlet, cast thy nighted color off."[1]
"...for the men mourning, and the women clad in mourning habits." St. Gregory of Tours[2].	"'Tis not my inky cloak, good mother, Nor customary suits of solemn black."[2]
Poor entertained at feast, as a sort of alms for the dead[3].	"...the funeral baked meats."[3]
An old custom to deck the bridal bed with flowers[4].	"I thought thy bride bed to have deck'd."[4]
"Friday is St. Valentine's day, and every bird chooseth him a make (mate)." Paston Letters[5].	"Tomorrow is Saint Valentine's day, All in the morning betime And I a maid at your window To be your Valentine."[5]

---

[1] Barnard, , Medieval England, p. 169.
[2] Smith, Wm. & Cheetham, Samuel, Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, II, p. 1435.
[3] Ibid., II, 1435.
[4] Lyer, T. F. T., Folklore of Shakespeare, p. 358.
[5] Colby, Chas. W., Sources of English History, p. 120.

[1] Hamlet, I, 2, 68.
[2] Ibid., I, 2, 78-79.
[3] Ibid., I, 2, 180.
[4] Ibid., V, 1, 247.
[5] Ibid., IV, 5, 46-49.

Medieval	Shakespeare
Ascensius (1462-1535) gives instructions concerning honor due parents[6].	"Who, in her duty and obedience."[6]
"They have the incredible courtesy of remaining with their heads uncovered... whilst they talk to each other.."[7]	"Put your bonnet to his use; 'tis for the head."[7]
"Si quis inhonoraverit patrem aut matrem, tres annos poeniteat. Quod se manum levaverit, aut ei percussionem intulerit, septem annos poeniteat."[8]	"We shall obey, were she ten times our mother."[8]
	"Have you your father's leave?"[8a]
"See that thou hast in thy company men, whether religious or lay, who are right worthy and loyal." Advice of Louis IX to his son[9].	"Those friends thou hast, and their adoption tried, Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel, But do not dull thy palm with entertainment Of each new-hatch'd, unfledged comrade."[9]

---

[6] Prentano, Sr. Mary Theresa, Relation of Latin Facetus Lit. to Med. Eng. Courtesy Poems, 34.

[7] Colby, Chas. W., Selections from Sources of Eng. Hist. 131.

[8] Theodorus, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Poenitentiale, cap. xxxiv, P. L. XCIX, 943.

[9] Joinville, Jean, Memoirs of Crusades, 321.

[6] Hamlet, II, 2, 206.

[7] Ibid., V, 2, 94.

[8] Ibid., III, 2, 318.

[8a] Ibid., I, 2, 257.

[9] Ibid., I, 3, 62-65.

Medieval	Shakespeare
"May thou be blessed in the town, in the country, at the court...blessed with thy father, blessed with thy brother." Liber Manualis, 842, A. D.[10]	"My blessing season thee in this."[10]
"I will, in God's name."[11]	"With what, i' the name of God?"[11]
"And great shame it is to the realm of France, ...that scarcely can any one speak without saying: 'May the Devil take it'."[12]	"The devil take thy soul."[12]
Treatises on falconry written in 12th century. Vienna MSS 2504, earliest Latin treatise on hunting[13].	"We'll e'en to't like French falconers, fly at anything we see."[13] "...If now he be return'd As checking at his voyage."[13a] "...I know a hawk from a handsaw."[13b]
"When the deer is arered he fleeth to a ryver or ponde...cryeth and wepeth..."[14]	"Let the stricken deer go weep."[14]

---

[10] Shahan, Thomas J., Middle Ages, 281.

[11] Froissart, Sir John, Chronicles, 425.

[12] Joinville, Jean, Memoirs of Crusades, 309.

[13] Haskins, Chas. H., Studies in Med. Science, 21.

[14] Dyer, T. F. T., Folk-lore of Shakespeare, 180-181.

[10] Hamlet, I, 3, 80.

[11] Ibid., II, 1, 76.

[12] Ibid., V, 1, 262.

[13] Ibid., II, 2, 434.

[13a] Ibid., IV, 7, 60-61.

[13b] Ibid., II, 2, 383.

[14] Ibid., III, 2, 255.

Medieval	Shakespeare
Hunting great medieval sport. De Arte Venendi cum Avibus by Frederick II (1194-1250)[15]	"Why do you go about to recover the wind of me, as if you would drive me into a toil?"[15]
"...they make games of hazard serious occupation...on the last and final throw they stake the freedom of their own persons."[16]	"The king, sir, hath wagered with him six Barbary horses; against the which he hath imponed, as I take it, six French rapiers and poniards."[16]
The rouse a large glass in which a health was given; drunk by the company, a carouse[17].	"The king doth wake and take his rouse."[17]
Old English literature condemns drunkenness. In Juliana the fiend draws men to strife when they are drunk[18].	"We'll teach you to drink deep ere you depart."[18]
To swallow a pearl in wine common to indicate prodigality from Roman times[19].	"Stay, give me a drink. Hamlet, this pearl is thine."[19]

---

[15] Haskins, Chas. H., Studies in Med. Science, 299.

[16] Kendall, Eliz. K., Source Book of Eng. Hist. 11.

[17] Dyer, T. F. T., Folk-lore of Shakespeare, 528.

[18] Dale, Edmund, Nat'l Life & Character in Mirror of Early Eng. Lit. 77.

[19] Dyer, T. F. T., Folk-lore of Shakespeare, 392.

[15] Hamlet, III, 2, 30-31.

[16] Ibid., V, 2, 149-151.

[17] Ibid., I, 4, 9.

[18] Ibid., I, 2, 175.

[19] Ibid., V, 2, 285.

Popular Folk Lore

Medieval	Shakespeare
Rosemary supposed to strengthen the memory[20].	"There's rosemary, that's for remembrance."[20]
Primrose associated with sadness and sinful pleasures[21].	"Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads."[21]
Violet considered emblematic of early death, because it saw only the spring of the year[22].	"...lay her i' the earth; And from her fair and unpolluted flesh May violets spring."[22]
Centaurs, who had head and trunk of man, the remainder of body that of a horse[23].	"As he had been incorpsed And demi-natured with the brave beast."[23]
"Pie pellicane, Jesu Domine, Me immundum munda Tuo sanguine."[24]	"And like the kind life rendering pelican Repast them with my blood."[24]

---

[20] Dyer, T. F. T., Folk-lore of Shakespeare, p. 240.
[21] Ibid., p. 237.
[22] Ibid., p. 244.
[23] Bulfinch, T., Golden Age of Myth and Legend, p. 157.
[24] Thomas Aquinas, Rhythmus, Breviarium Monasticum, (400).

[20] Hamlet, IV, 3, 153.
[21] Ibid., I, 3, 50.
[22] Ibid., V, 1, 242-244.
[23] Ibid., IV, 7, 86-87.
[24] Ibid., IV, 5, 126-127.

Medieval	Shakespeare
"Perunt, vagantes daemones, Laetos tenebris noctium, Gallo canente exterritos Sparsim timere et cedere."[25] Prudentius, Ad Gallicinum	"It was about to speak when the cock crew."[25]
"Hoc esse signum praescii Norunt repromissae spei Qua nos sapores liberi Speramus adventum Dei."[26] Prudentius, Ad Gallicinum	"It faded on the crowing of the cock."[26]
Prudentius: "It is said it (the cock) can put wandering demons to flight."[27]	"The bird of dawning singeth all day long And then, they say, no spirit dare stir abroad."[27]
"Leo (diabolus) timet cantum galli et fugit virtute cujusdam lapidis quem in se habet gallus."[28]	"But even then the morning cock crew loud, And at the sound it shrunk in haste away."[28]
Superstition from early times that ghosts had some particular reason for returning to earth[29].	"My father's soul in arms! All is not well."[29] "This bodes some strange eruption to the state."[29a]

---

[25] Furness, Horace Howard, New Variorum, Hamlet, I, 23.

[26] Ibid., 23.

[27] Rand, Edward Kennard, Founders of the Middle Ages, 209.

[28] Bonaventure, St. Sermones de Sanctis, XIV, 47a.

[29] Dyer, T. F. T., Folk-lore of Shakespeare, 46.

[25] Hamlet, I, 1, 147.

[26] Ibid., I, 1, 157.

[27] Ibid., I, 1, 160-161.

[28] Ibid., I, 2, 219-220.

[29] Ibid., I, 2, 256.

[29a] Ibid., I, 2, 69.

Medieval	Shakespeare
Ghosts supposed to assume exact appearance as in life so as to be recognized by living[30].	"...a figure like your father, Armed at point, exactly, cap-a-pie."[30]
Spirits supposed to speak to none save those concerned in reason for apparition[31].	"Let us impart what we have seen tonight Unto young Hamlet; for, upon my life, This spirit, dumb to us, will speak to him."[31]
Spirits supposed to speak only when interrogated[32].	"It would be spoken to."[32]
"Ignis inferni est potius tenebricosus quam lucidus, quia magis visum impedit, quam adjuvet."[33]	"And that his soul may be as damned and black As hell, whereto it goes."[33]
"Se transfigurat in angelum lucis, ut adoretur."[34]	"...the devil hath power To assume a pleasing shape."[34]

---

[30] Dyer, T. F. T., Folk-lore of Shakespeare, 44.
[31] Ibid., 45.
[32] Ibid., 45.
[33] St. Bonaventure, Liber Sententiarum, IV, vi, 495 ab.
[34] Ibid., III, 210.

[30] Hamlet, I, 2, 199-200.
[31] Ibid., I, 1, 169-171.
[32] Ibid., I, 1, 42.
[33] Ibid., III, 3, 94-95.
[34] Ibid., II, 2, 605-606.

Medieval	Shakespeare
"Gallus jacentes excitat Et somnolentes increpat, Gallus negantes arguit. Gallo canente, spes redit, Aegris salus refunditur, Mucro latronis conditur, Lapsis fides revertitur." St. Ambrose[35].	"...I have heard The cock, that is the trumpet of the morn, Doth with his lofty and shrill sounding throat Awake the god of day; and at his warning, Whether in sea, or fire, in earth or air, The extravagant and erring spirit hies to his confine."[35]
"Cujus Christi Nativitate...celebratur ut per ejus mysterium et dignam participationem a potestate diaboli liberemur."[36]	"Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes Wherein our Savior's birth is celebrated, The bird of dawning singeth all night long: And then they say, no spirit dare stir abroad, No fairy takes nor witch hath power to charm, So hallowed and so gracious is the time."[36]
"So this life of mine appears but a short space, but of what sent before, or what is to follow, we are utterly ignorant." King's man to Paulinus[37].	"For in that sleep of death what dreams may come When we have shuffled off this mortal coil, Must give us pause:..."[37]

---

[35] Breviarium Monasticum, pars hiemalis, 61.

[36] Beda Venerabilis, Homilia XCV, De Nativitate Domini, P. L. XCIV, 498.

[37] Bede Venerable, Ecclesiastical Hist. of Eng. Nation, 91.

[35] Hamlet, I, 1, 149-155.

[36] Ibid., I, 1, 158-164.

[37] Ibid., III, 1, 66-68.

Medieval	Shakespeare
"Cavete, fratres, ab eis qui mentiuntur, quod quando quisque nascitur, stella eis secum nascitur, qua fatum eius consitutitur." Radalphus Ardens, 11th century[38].	"Young Hamlet is a prince out of thy star."[38]
"...two comets appeared ...as it were presaging much destruction."[39]	"As stars, with trains of fire and dews of blood."[39]
"Non pur per ovra della rote magne, Che crizzan ciascun seme ad alcun fine, Secundo che le stelle son compagne;"[40]	"Disaster in the sun; and the moist star Upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands, Was sick almost to doomsday with eclipse."[40]
"...quare dicitur cometes significare mortem magnatum et bella futura."[41]	"Whose phase of sorrow Conjures up the wandering stars and makes them stand Like wonder-wounded hearers."[41]

---

[38] Grimm, Jacob, Teutonic Mythology, I, 860.

[39] Bede, Venerable, Ecclesiastical Hist. of Eng. Nation, 227.

[40] Dante, Alighieri, Paradiso, XXX, 109-111.

[41] Albertus Magnus, Liber I, Meterorum, Opera Omnia, 4, 507.

[38] Hamlet, II, 2, 142.

[39] Ibid., I, 1, 117.

[40] Ibid., I, 1, 118-120.

[41] Ibid., I, 1, 259-261.

Medieval	Shakespeare
"There are also people ...that do utterly believe and suppose, when great uprears come that then great treasons are abroad." (1455)[42]	"And prologue to the omen coming on Have heaven and earth together demonstrated."[42]
"O ciel, nel cui girar par che si creda Le condizion de quaggiu trasmutarse."[43]	"... or Fortune's star..."[43]
"Vera praedicunt circa motus et accidentia corporum ccelestium, non vero circa actus liberos."[44]	"We defy augury:"[44]

---

[42] Grimm, Jacob, Teutonic Mythology, 2, 1772.

[43] Dante, Alighieri, Purgatorio, XX, 13-14.

[44] St. Bonaventure, Opera II, 602 b-603a.

[42] Ibid., I, 1, 123-124.

[43] Ibid., I, 4, 33.

[44] Ibid., V, 2, 223.

Education

Medieval	Shakespeare
In early feudal ages boys of noble birth not expected to have education in letters unless destined for ecclesiastical careers[45].	"I once did hold it, as our statists do, A baseness to write fair, and labor'd much How to forget that learning."[45]
Medieval universities originated in twelfth and thirteenth centuries[46].	"You played once i' the university, you say?"[46]
Influx of foreign students to French schools at height at time of Abelard. (1079-1142)[47]	"My thoughts and wishes turn again toward France."[47]
No formal discipline maintained in medieval universities. Students impatient of authority[48].	"But sir, such wanton, wild and usual slips."[48]
"Col viso retornai per tutte quante Le sette spere."[49]	"That as the star moves not but as his sphere."[49]

---

[45] Stephenson, Carl, Medieval History, p. 257.

[46] Putnam, G. H., Books and Their Makers, pp. 178-179.

[47] De Wulf, Maurice, History of Medieval Philosophy, I, p. 67.

[48] Munro, Dana C. & Sontag, Raymond James, Middle Ages, pp. 374-376.

[49] Dante, Alighieri, Paradiso, XXII, 133-134.

[45] Hamlet, V, 2, 33-36.

[46] Ibid., II, 1, 100.

[47] Ibid., I, 2, 55.

[48] Ibid., II, 1, 22.

[49] Ibid., IV, 7, 15.

Medieval	Shakespeare
"A darne tempo gia stelle propinque Sicure d'ogni intoppo e d'ogni sbarro."[50]	"When yond same star that's westward from the pole Hath made his course to illume that part of heaven."[50]
"Placet igitur celestium sperarum circulos numerum ordinem quo verius potero quantumque humana patitur ratio aperire, ut quo a Ptholomeo in sua sinthasi disponuntur circuli in speris etiam quo modo possint inveniri laborantibus in hac arte via terratur."[51]	"Make thy two eyes, like stars start from their spheres."[51]
"Inter coelum terramque septem sidera pendunt, certis discreta spatiis."[52]	"...like stars, start from their spheres."[52]
Liber Marii and Liber de Elementis in Cotton MSS (c1200) treat of the four elements.[53]	"...in sea or fire, in earth or air."[53]
Proper proportions of humours produced health.[54]	"Your wisdom would show itself more richer to signify this to the doctor."[54]

---

[50] Dante, Alighieri Purgatorio, XXXIII, 41-42

[51] Haskins, Chas. H., Studies in Hist. of Med. Science, 100.

[52] Beda Venerabilis, De Natura Rerum, XII, P.L.XC, 208.

[53] Haskins, Chas. H., Studies in Hist. of Med. Science, 93-94.

[54] Garrison, Fielding H., Int. to Hist. of Medicine, 81, 189-190; 25-26.

[50] Hamlet, I, 1, 37-38.

[51] Ibid., I, 5, 17.

[52] Ibid., I, 5, 17.

[53] Ibid., I, 1, 153.

[54] Ibid., III, 2, 289.

Medieval	Shakespeare
"Sunt enim quattuor humores in homine...Sanguis regnat in pueritia. Cholore...in adolescentia...Melancholia... in maturitate. Phlegma... in senectute."[55]	"...for me to put him to his purgation would perhaps plunge him into more choler."[55]
Medieval metallurgy treated in Liber Marii, also in Liber Particularis (Michael Scott, 12th century)[56].	"...like some ore Among a mineral of metale base Shows itself pure."[56]
"Restat autem terram rotundam dici."[57]	"For so this side of our known world esteemed him."[57]
Petrifying properties of water known to Frederick II (1194-1250) who sent messengers to Norway to verify reports of such a spring[58].	"Like the spring that turneth wood to stone."[58]
A belief from time of Pliny that oil from seeds of this plant, poured into the ears would produce insanity[59].	"With juice of cursed hebanon."[59]

---

[55] Beda Venerabilis, De Mundi Coelestis Terrestrisque Constitutione, P. L. XC, 881.

[56] Haskins, Chas. H., Studies in Hist. of Med. Science, 263.

[57] Beda Venerabilis, De Mundi Coelestis Terrestrisque Constitutione, P. L. XC, 883.

[58] Haskins, Chas. H., Studies in Hist. of Med. Science, 263.

[59] Furness, Horace Howard, New Variorum, Hamlet I, 101n.

[55] Hamlet, III, 2, 290-291.

[56] Ibid., IV, 1, 25-27.

[57] Ibid., I, 1, 85.

[58] Ibid., IV, 7, 20.

[59] Ibid., I, 5, 62.

Medieval	Shakespeare
Bartholomeus Anglicus in De Proprietatibus tells of soporific effects of rinds of mandragora, sodden in wine.[60]	"Thou mixture rank, of midnight weeds collected."[60]
Convention used by authors of French romances, adhering to rules of courtly love.[61]	"He raised a sigh so piteous and profound As it did seem to shatter all his bulk."[61]
	"O dear Ophelia, I am ill at these numbers; I have not art to reckon my groans."[61a]
Everything naturally loves itself, hence strives against destructive agencies. Suicide unnatural.[62]	"The single and peculiar life is bound With all the strength and armor of the mind To keep itself from noyance."[62]
Duns Scotus (d.1308) maintained doctrine of supremacy of will over intellect[63].	"Since my dear soul was mistress of her choice."[63]

---

[60] Thomas, P. G. Eng. Lit. before Chaucer, 103.
[61] Dodd, Wm. George, Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower, 130.
[62] Rickaby, Joseph, Aquinas Ethicus, II, 42-43.
[63] Taylor, Howard Osborne, Med. Mind, II, 545.

[60] Hamlet, III, 2, 241.
[61] Ibid., II, 1, 94-95.
[61a] Ibid., II, 2, 120-121.
[62] Ibid., III, 3, 11-13.
[63] Ibid., III, 2, 64.

Medieval	Shakespeare
No food or drink, considered in itself, sinful. Use of wine unlawful to those who easily become drunk, who have vowed not to drink[64], or who give scandal[64].	"This heavy-headed revel, east and west Makes us traduced and tax'd of other nations: They clepe us drunkards, and with swinish phrase, Soil our addition."[64]
Order of justice requires obedience of inferior to superior, otherwise no preservation of state and condition of human society[65].	"...both your majesties Might, by the sovereign power you have of us, Put your dread pleasure more into command Than to entreaty."[65]
Parody of Duns Scotus' requirements for morality of an act: an object good in nature, end and circumstance[66].	"An act hath three branches: it is to act, to do and to perform."[66]
St. Anselm: "The evil consists in willing this nothing (unrighteousness) instead of the prescribed something."[67]	"...there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so."[67]
"Nuovo pensiero dentro a me si mise, Del qual piu altri nacquero e diversi: E tanto d'uno in altro vaneggiai."[68]	"...with wings as swift As meditation, or the thoughts of love."[68]

---

[64] Rickaby, Joseph, Aquinas Ethicus, II, 42-43.
[65] Ibid., 199.
[66] Minges, Parthenius, Cath. Ency., V, 197.
[67] Erdman, Johan Eduard, Hist. of Philosophy, I, 307.
[68] Dante, Alighieri, Purgatorio, XVIII, 141-143.

[64] Hamlet, I, 4, 18-20.
[65] Ibid., II, 2, 27-29.
[66] Ibid., V, 1, 11-12.
[67] Ibid., II, 2, 251-252.
[68] Ibid., I, 5, 29-30.

Medieval	Shakespeare
Mental fatigue: "Si vero in intelligendo fatigatur corpus, hoc est per accidens, in quantum intellectus indiget operatione virium sensitivarum, per quas ei phantasmata praeparentur."[69]	"What to ourselves in passion we propose, The passion ending, doth the purpose lose."[69]
"Per amor de la genta Vas cui eu sui aclis, En cui ai m'ententa, E mon coratge assis;" Bernard de Ventadour, 12th century[70].	"When the blood burns, how prodigal the soul Lends the tongue vows; these blazes, daughter, Giving more light than heat, extinct in both, Even in their promise, as it is a-making You must not take for fire."[70]
"Amor sementa in voi d'ogni virtute, E d'ogni operazion che merta pene."[71]	"This is the very ecstasy of love, Whose violent property fordoes itself And leads the will to desperate undertakings As oft as any passion under heaven."[71]

---

[69] St. Thomas of Aquin, Summa Theologica in Turner, Wm., Hist. of Philosophy, 169.

[70] Stephenson, Carl, Med. Hist., 454.

[71] Dante, Alighieri, Purgatorio, XVII, 100-101.

[69] Hamlet, III, 2, 181-182.

[70] Ibid., I, 3, 116-120.

[71] Ibid., II, 1, 102-105.

Medieval	Shakespeare
"Che riso e peanto son tanto seguaci Alla passion da che ciason si spicca Che men seguon volgr me piu veraci."[72]	"Give me that man That is not passion's slave, And I will wear him In my heart's core."[72]
"Per lei assai di lieve si comprende Quanto in femmina foco d'amor dura."[73]	"Frailty, thy name is woman."[73]
"...the destruction or diminution of a habit results through the cessation from act."[74]	"...Refrain tonight And that shall lend a kind of easiness To the next abstinence: the next more easy."[74]
"Io gl'imagino si che gia li sents."[75]	"He waxes desperate with imagination."[75]
"...terrent somnia visiones conturbant. Et licet non sint in veritate tristia, vel terribilia, seu laboriosa, quae somniant somniantes, tamen in veritate tristantur, terrentur et fatigantur."[76]	"I have bad dreams."[76]

---

[72] Dante, Alighieri, Purgatorio, XXI, 106-108.

[73] Ibid., VIII, 76-77.

[74] St. Thomas, Summa, 22, XLIX-LXXIX, Vol. 7, 52.

[75] Dante, Alighieri, Inferno, XXIII, 24.

[76] Innocentus, III, Papae, De Contemptu Mundi, P. L. CCXVII, Cap. XXV.

[72] Hamlet, III, 2, 72-73.

[73] Ibid., I, 2, 146.

[74] Ibid., III, 4, 162-164.

[75] Ibid., I, 4, 86.

[76] Ibid., II, 2, 255.

Medioval	Shakespeare
"...there is not a nation under heaven with such an evil reputation for adultery as the English nation of this day." Thomas Brunton, c. 1376[77].	"...O most wicked speed, to post With such dexterity to incestuous sheets."[77]
"Nulla poena gravior mala conscientia."[78]	"How smart a lash that speech doth give my conscience! The harlot's cheek, beautiful with plastering art, Is not more ugly to the thing that helps it Than is my deed to my most painted word."[78]
"Io era come quei che si risente Di vision obblito."[79]	"A dream itself is but a shadow."[79]
"Se non che coscienza mi assicura, La buona compagnia che l'uom franchoggia Sotto l'osbergo del sentirsi pura."[80]	"Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer The stings and arrows of outrageous fortune, Or to take up arms against a sea of troubles, And by opposing end them."[80]

---

[77] Casquet, Francis Aiden, Old Eng. Bible, 86.

[78] St. Bonaventure, Pharetra, V. 7, 126.

[79] Dante, Alighieri, Paradiso, XXIII, 48-49.

[80] Ibid., Inferno, XXVII, 115-117.

[77] Hamlet, I, 2, 156-157.

[78] Ibid., III, 1, 50-53.

[79] Ibid., II, 2, 254-255.

[80] Ibid., III, 1, 57-60.

Medieval	Shakespeare
"Che sempre l'uomo in cui pensier rampolla Sovra pensier da se dilunga il segno Perche la foga l'un dell'altro insolla."[81]	"...this visitation Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose."[81]

---

[81] Dante, Alighieri, Purgatorio, V, 16-18.

[81] Hamlet, III, 4, 107-108.

MEDIEVAL POLITICAL LIFE IN *HAMLET*

Introduction To Medieval Political Life Of *Hamlet*

A study of *Hamlet* from the standpoint of its portraiture of the political life of medieval times shows that the play contains many references to the court and military customs of the middle ages, as well as to the prevailing forms of government.

The feudal regime, which had been gradually established in the ninth and tenth centuries, had reached its completion in the eleventh century[1]. In England the development of early feudalism had resulted at first in the formation of a strong central administration, dependent on the crown[2], whereas in Germany decentralization was consequent upon the establishment of feudal forms of government[3].

Hamlet's rather cynical characterization of the observance of court etiquette:

> "...let the candied tongue lick absurd pomp,
> And crook the pregnant hinges of the knee,"[4]

---

[1] Munro, Dana C. and Sellery, George C., *Medieval Civilization*, p. 116.
[2] Bland, A. E., Brown, P. A. and Tawney, R. H., *English Economic History*, p. 19.
[3] De Wulf, Maurice, *Philosophy and Civilization During the Middle Ages*, pp. 19-25.
[4] *Hamlet*, III, 2, 61.

corresponds with Froissart's relation of the actions of the French courtiers, whom he represents as kneeling before the king and returning him "the greatest thanks" for the favors the royal clemency had conferred upon them[5].

Hamlet's repeated admonition to Osric to put his bonnet on his head[6], shows that it was customary to remain with uncovered head in the presence of the nobility.

The court feasts which celebrated both the marriages[7] and the funerals[8] of the nobility are mentioned in Hamlet's complaint that the cold meats from his father's funeral served for his mother's wedding feast[9].

The court fools, who by their witty jests and clever antics amused the medieval nobility[10], find a typical representative in Yorick[11].

The recreations for the nobility--dancing, fencing, quarreling, carousing and gambling--are mentioned through-

---

[5] Froissart, Sir John, Chronicles of England, France and Spain, pp. 496, 591.
[6] Hamlet, V, 2, 94.
[7] Seignobos, Charles, History of Medieval and Modern Civilization, 195.
[8] Smith, Wm. and Cheetham, Samuel, Dictionary of Christian Antiquity, II, 1435.
[9] Hamlet, I, 2, 181.
[10] Tappan, E. M., When Knights Were Bold, 96.
[11] Hamlet, V, 1, 183.

out the play. Polonius bids Reynaldo expect that the companions of his son accuse Laertes of gambling and carousing[12], a charge brought likewise in medieval times, as Golias complains in his Confession:

> "Yet a second charge they bring
> I'm forever gaming."[13]

We read that the early English made gambling so serious an occupation that they were accustomed to wager even the very freedom of their persons[14].

The "swaggering up-spring reels"[15] with which the King and his boon companions whiled away the hours of carousal seem to find a medieval counterpart in a wild dance of the early Germans[16].

The national vice of drunkenness to which Hamlet attributes such great loss of national prestige, in that it

> "Makes us traduced and tax'd of other nations:
> They clepe us drunkards,..."[17]

was attacked in Saxon times by William of Malmesbury, who complains in the Gesta Regum Anglorum, that drinking was

---

[12] Hamlet, II, 1, 56-57.
[13] Waddell, Helen Jean, Medieval Latin Lyrics, 171 f.
[14] Kendall, Ellis. K., Source Book of English History, 11.
[15] Hamlet, I, 4, 9.
[16] Lyer, T. F. T., Folk-lore of Shakespeare, p. 432.
[17] Hamlet, I, 4, 18-19.

carried to such excess that day and night was passed in eating and drinking[18].

The assertion of Polonius to Ophelia that Hamlet's

"...will is not his own,"[19]

in regard to his choice in marriage is substantiated by Seignobos, who emphasizes the strict adherence to social status in arranging the marriages of medieval nobles[20]. Froissart, likewise, in his Chronicles relates the deliberations of the council in regard to the marriage of the king[21].

The fatherly warning of Polonius that greater liberties might be taken by Hamlet than by Ophelia[22] is an echo of William of Malmesbury, who bewails the fact that princes take advantage of their position to indulge in sinful liberties with impunity[23].

The military customs of the middle ages also find mention in the play. In Act I, Hamlet repeatedly commands

---

[18] Kendall, Eliz. K., Source Book of English History, p. 43.
[19] Hamlet, I, 3, 17.
[20] Seignobos, Charles, Feudal Regime, p. 32.
[21] Froissart, Sir John, Chronicles of England, France and Spain, p. 408.
[22] Hamlet, I, 3, 125-216.
[23] Colby, Charles W., Selection From the Sources of English History, p. 228.

his companions to swear secrecy upon his sword[24]. He is here true to a custom which dates back to the Crusades --that of taking an oath upon a sword, whose transverse bar, separating blade and hilt, formed a cross[25].

The nightly watch, alluded to several times during the first act of the play[26], is of medieval origin, having been introduced into English cities and borough towns by Henry III in 1255[27].

The cannon, at whose "daily cast" Marcellus wonders[28], was also an invention of the middle ages, having been first employed with gunpowder about the middle of the fourteenth century[29].

The symbolic insignia of heraldry, by which the rank of the soldier or nobleman was distinguished, find notice in:

> "With heraldry more dismal; head to foot
> now is he total gules"[30]

and again in the complaint of Laertes that his father's corpse has had

---

[24] Hamlet, I, 5, 148.
[25] Dyer, T. F. T., Folk-lore of Shakespeare, p. 542
[26] Hamlet, I, 1, 6; I, 2, 226.
[27] Stow, John, Survey of London, p.92.
[28] Hamlet, I, 1, 73
[29] Betten, Francis S., Ancient and Medieval History, p. 499.
[30] Hamlet, II, 2, 461.

"No trophy, sword nor hatchment o'er his bones,
Nor noble rite nor formal ostentation."[31]

Passages from Froissart tell of the heraldric decorations of the shields which the nobility bore in battle[32]; while Davis mentions the regulations for the display of crests and flags at funerals[33].

The form of government of the state presented in Hamlet is largely feudal, tinged here and there with a trace of that absolutism which would make the king the state.

The Thomistic theory of government which considers all temporal power as derived from God[34] is subscribed to in the passage:

"I hold my duty, as I hold my soul,
Both to my God and to my gracious kind."[35]

The note of responsibility of the sovereign to his subjects sounded in

"Most holy and religious fear it is
To keep those many many bodies safe
That live and feed upon your majesty"[36]

rings true to the promises contained in the coronation

---

[31] Hamlet, IV, 5, 195-196.
[32] Froissart, Sir John, Chronicles of England, France and Spain, p. 60.
[33] Davis, H. W. C., Medieval England, p. 227.
[34] Rickaby, Joseph, Aquinas Ethicus, I, p. 276.
[35] Hamlet, II, 2, 43-44.
[36] Ibid., III, 3, 8-10.

oath of Ethelred II (979, A. D.):

> "...I promise and enjoin justice and mercy in all judgements, in that a just and merciful God may give us His eternal favor."[37]

The boast of the usurper king:

"There's such divinity doth hedge a king"[38]

is closely paralled by repeated utterances of Charlemagne:

"Carolus, a Deo coronatus"[39]

and

"Karolus, Die gratia rex Francorum."[40]

The duties of the feudal vassals to their lords--service and fealty in exchange for land[41]--both find mention in the drama:

> "And here give up ourselves in the full bent
> To lay our service freely at your feet."[42]

That this service might be commuted to the payment of tribute is attested both by medieval source material and by the play itself. The King sends Hamlet to England, ostensibly to collect the tribute which that vassal

---

[37] Kendall, Ellis. K., Source Book of English History, p. 30

[38] Hamlet, IV, 5, 102.

[39] Carolus Magnus, Opera, Pars II, P. L. XCVII, col. 1073.

[40] Ibid., col. 1080.

[41] Dewe, John Adalbert, History of Economics, pp. 118-119.

[42] Hamlet, II, 2, 30-31.

country owed to Denmark[43]. Bland states that in the reign of Edward I, money payments were imposed in lieu of knight service[44].

The oath of fealty, by which the vassal pledged faith to his lord on the reception of his fief[45] is renounced by Laertes:

"To hell, allegiance! vows, to the blackest devil!"[46]

It was in England, particularly, that the feudal system developed in such a way as to secure a rather strong central government, in which all fiefs were responsible to and dependent on the Crown[47]. The authority of the lord over his vassal extended to marriages contracted[48], and to trips outside the boundaries of his fief[49]. It is for permission to leave his fief that Laertes sues when he begs of the King:

"Your leaves and favors to return to France."[50]

---

[43] Hamlet, III, 1, 173-174.
[44] Bland, A. E., English Economic History, p. 30.
[45] Sellery, G. D. and Krey, A. C., Medieval Foundations of Western Civilization, pp. 137-138.
[46] Hamlet, IV, 5, 10.
[47] Bland, A. E., English Economic History, p. 19.
[48] Kendall, Eliz. K., Source Book of English History, p. 49.
[49] Munro, Dana C. and Sellery, George C., Medieval Civilization, p. 169.
[50] Hamlet, I, 2, 51.

The Truce of God and the Right of Sanctuary restrained no less the lawless warfare and rash justice of the medieval peoples than those of their suzerains as well. The Truce of God, introduced through the efforts of the Cluniac Benedictines, sought to introduce to the minds of the feudal barons Christian ideals of peace by restricting the times during which they might engage in warlike hostilities[51].

The Right of Sanctuary, by which a fugitive from justice might, for a specified time, take shelter from his pursuers in consecrated precincts, was recognized by the Justinian Code in 399, A. D. It received papal sanction from Pope Leo III about 460, A. D. and is mentioned in the Code of King Ethelbert of England in 600, A. D.[52]

The statement of Charlemagne in his Capitularies:

> "Ut homocidas aut ceteros reos qui legibus mori debent, se ad ecclesias confugerint, non expugarentur, neque eis ibidem victis detur."[53]

agrees in sentiment with that saying of the King, who in response to the threat of Laertes

---

[51] De Wulf, Maurice, Philosophy and Civilization During the Middle Ages, pp. 24, 29.

[52] Alston, G. C., Catholic Encyclopedia, XIII, pp. 430-431.

[53] Carolus Magnus, Capitularia, P. L. XCVII, p. 127.

"To cut his (Hamlet's) throat in the church"[54] condones his rash words by expressing the wish that

"No place indeed should murder sanctuarize."[55]

That such violent profanation of the sanctuary must have occurred is shown by a ruling of Pope Boniface VIII:

"Bonefacius...
Hic decrevit ut nullus trahatur de ecclesia."[56]

Thus a study of the play from the standpoint of its expression of political life makes it evident that Hamlet presents a rather faithful picture of the medieval state, feudal in form of government, and in the customs of court and of camp, but monarchical in ideal.

---

[54] Hamlet, IV, 7, 125.
[55] Ibid., IV, 7, 126.
[56] Chronica Sigberti, P. L. CLX, col. 1112.

Court Custom

Medieval	Shakespeare
Social status rigorously hereditary in thirteenth century.. To marry out of class entailed deprivation of inheritance rights of children[1].	"...his will is not his own For he himself is subject to his birth; He may not, as unvalued persons do, Carve for himself..."[1]
As a rule, performances furnished by professional itinerant players[2].	"There are the players."[2]
Jesters, by their quips and antics, amused noble masters[3].	"This same skull, sir, was Yorick's skull, the king's jester."[3]
Customary for every monarch to have a ring, temporary possession of which invested holder with authority of rightful owner[4].	"I had my father's signet in my purse, Which was the model of that Danish seal."[4]

---

[1] Seignobos, Charles, Feudal Regime, p. 32.
[2] Sellery, G. D. and Krey, A. C., Medieval Foundations of Western Civilization, p. 143.
[3] Salzman, L. F., English Life in the Middle Ages, p. 29.
[4] Lyer, T. F. T., Folk-lore of Shakespeare, p. 386.

[1] Hamlet, I, 3, 17-20.
[2] Ibid., II, 2, 372.
[3] Ibid., V, 1, 183.
[4] Ibid., V, 2, 40-50.

Medieval	Shakespeare
"...they advanced to the king's chamber...and... they cast themselves upon their knee."[5]	"And crook the pregnant hinges of the knee."[5]
Whether a prince was married, married off his daughter...the banquet lasted several hours[6].	"...furnish forth the marriage tables."[6]
"...the king's counsel introduced the subject of a marriage with their king; for the country was very desirous he would marry[7].	"He may not, as unvalued persons do, Carve for himself, for on his choice depends The health and safety of this whole state."[7]
"I speak of princes, who from the greatness of their power might have full liberty to indulge in pleasure."[8]	"...with a larger tether he may walk Than may be given you."[8]
"Yet a second charge they bring: I'm forever gaming." Confession of Golias[9].	"There was a-gaming, o'ertook in's rouse; There falling out at tennis:"[9]

---

[5] Froissart, Sir John, Chronicles, p. 496.

[6] Seignobos, Charles, History of Medieval and Modern Civilization, p. 195.

[7] Froissart, Sir John, Chronicles, p. 408.

[8] William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum, p. 34 (in Colby, Selections From Sources of English History, p. 228.

[9] Waddell, Helen Jean, Medieval Latin Lyrics, 171 f.

[5] Hamlet, III, 2, 61.

[6] Ibid., I, 2, 181.

[7] Ibid., I, 3, 19-21.

[8] Ibid., I, 3, 125-126.

[9] Ibid., II, 1, 58-57.

Medieval	Shakespeare
When forced to remain indoors, the feudal noblemen seem to have spent their time largely in drinking, feasting and gambling.[10]	"Ay, or drinking, fencing, swearing, quarrelling."[10]

10 Stephenson, Carl, Medieval History, p. 262

10 Hamlet, II, 1, 26

Military Custom

Medieval	Shakespeare
Swearing by the sword a custom from the time of the Crusades. [11]	"Upon my sword." [11] "Swear by my sword." [11a]
Henry III commanded watches in 1253. [12]	"You come most carefully upon your hour." [12]
Gunpowder first used in battle of Crecy, 1346. [13]	"And why such daily cast of brazen cannon?" [13]
"He bore...a shield azure...with battoon gules upon the shield." [14]	"With heraldry more dismal, head to foot, Now is he total gules."[14]
"No coats of arms, flags, ...to be set up in churches, at funerals of gentry below the peerage." [15]	"Nor trophy, sword nor hatchment o'er his his bones." [15]
Honor, the rule of the knight, regulated occasions for the need of fighting. [16]	"...Rightly to be great Is not to stir without great argument." [16]

---

[11] Dyer, T. F. T., Folklore of Shakespeare, p. 542

[11] Hamlet, I, 5, 146

[11a] Ibid., I, 5, 148

[12] Stow, John, Survey of London, p. 92

[12] Ibid., I, 1, 6

[13] Betten, Francis S., Ancient and Medieval History, p. 499

[13] Ibid., I, 1, 75

[14] Froissart, Sir John Chronicles, p. 60

[14] Ibid., II, 2, 461-462

[15] Barnard, Francis P., Medieval England, p. 227

[15] Ibid, IV, 2, 53-54

[16] Seignobos, Charles Feudal Regime, pp. 82-84

[16] Ibid, IV, 2, 5, 195

Government

Medieval	Shakespeare
Medieval theory of authority predominantly monarchical. This idea grew from the idea of God as supreme monarch of universe[17].	"I hold my duty, as I hold my soul, Both to my God and to my gracious king."[17]
England had been a vassal of France in reign of Philip Augustus (1180-1223). Hence possible for one country to be vassal of another[18].	"...He shall with speed to England For the demand of our neglected tribute."[18]
Chief duty of vassal military service to his lord, at the vassal's expense[19].	"And here give up ourselves in the full bent To lay our service freely at your feet."[19]
Oath of fealty taken by vassal when receiving his feif[20].	"To hell, allegiance! Vows to the blackest devil."[20]
Homage might be demanded at each change of suzerain or vassal[21].	"...I came to Denmark To show my duty in your coronation."[21]

---

[17] Taylor, H. O., Medieval Mind, II, p. 306.

[18] Betten, Francis S., Ancient and Medieval History, p. 420

[19] Demond, Chas. and Monod, G., Medieval Europe, p. 253.

[20] Sellery, G.C. and Krey, A.C., Medieval Foundations of Western Civilization, pp. 137-138.

[21] Munro, Dana C. and Sellery, George C., Medieval Civilization, p. 171.

[17] Hamlet, II, 2, 43-44.

[18] Ibid., III, 1, 173-174.

[19] Ibid., II, 2, 30-31.

[20] Ibid., IV, 5, 110.

[21] Ibid., I, 2. 52-53.

Medieval	Shakespeare
St. Thomas of Aquin: "Order of justice requires that inferiors obey superiors."[22]	"...both your majesties Might, by the sovereign power you have of us, Put your dread pleasure more into command Than to entreaty."[22]
St. Thomas of Aquin teaches that princes of earth are instituted by God, in order that they may serve the common good. The Prince should be the guardian, the personification of all that is just[23].	"Most holy and religious fear it is To keep those many many bodies safe That live and feed upon your majesty."[23]
"Carolus divina donante clementia Imperator Augustus."[24]	"There's such divinity doth hedge a king."[24]
English feudalism succeeded in establishing a national administration dependent on the crown[25].	"...Thy free awe Pays homage to us--thou Mayst not coldly set Our sovereign process."[25]
"Bonefacius...hic decrevit ut nullus trahatur violenter de ecclesia."[26]	"To cut his throat i' the church."[26]

---

[22] Rickaby, Joseph, Aquinas Ethicus, II, p. 199.

[23] De Wulf, Maurice, Philosophy and Civilization During Middle Ages, pp. 222-241.

[24] Carolus Magnus, Opera, Pars, I, Sect. II, XXI, P. L. XCVII, p. 1071.

[25] Bland, A. E., Economic Hist., p. 19.

[26] Sigbertus Gemblacensis, Chronica Sigberti, P.L. CLX, p. 1112.

[22] Hamlet, II, 2, 27-29.

[23] Ibid., II, 3, 8-10.

[24] Ibid., IV, 5, 102.

[25] Ibid., IV, 3, 63-65.

[26] Ibid., IV, 7, 6.

Medieval	Shakespeare
When apprenticeship had been completed, one became a journeyman and worked for wages under a master workman[27].	"I have thought some of nature's journeymen had made men."[27]
"Ut homocidas aut ceteros reos qui legibus mori debent, si ad ecclesiam confugerint, non excusarentur, neque eis ibidem victus detur."[28]	"No place indeed should murder sanctuarize."[28]
According to the law, the vassal could not absent himself from his (Laertes) fief without permission from his lord[29].	"Your leaves and favor to return to France."[29]
"Che in te avra si benigno reguardo... Che del fare e del chieder tra voi due Fia primo quel che, tra gli' altri, e piu tardo."[30]	"...What wouldst thou beg, Laertes, That shall not be my offer, not thy asking? The head is not more native to the heart, The hand more instrumental to the mouth, Than is the throne of Denmark to thy father."[30]

---

[27] Thorndike, Lynn, History of Medieval Europe, p. 331.

[28] Carolus Magnus, Capitularia, P. L. XCVII, p. 127.

[29] Munro, Dana C. and Sellery, George C., Medieval Civilization, p. 169.

[30] Dante, Alighieri, Paradiso, XVII, pp. 72-74.

[27] Hamlet, III, 2, 54.

[28] Ibid., IV, 7, 126.

[29] Ibid., I, 2, 51.

[30] Ibid., I, 2, 45-49.

MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE IN HAMLET

Introduction to Medieval Ecclesiastical Life Of Hamlet

A study of Hamlet from the viewpoint of its reproduction of the religious life and customs of the middle ages presents a peculiar problem, for although some medieval folk-customs of religious bent have passed away with those years, still many of the beliefs, customs and rites of the middle ages persist unchanged to this twentieth century.

The most striking feature of the ecclesiastical life of the middle ages was their universality[1]--the creed of the peasant was that of the king. It is this very universality which simplifies the consideration of the religious aspects of Hamlet, requiring for study but one form of worship, with its tenets, practices and laws.

For the man of the middle ages, religion ran through the whole of life. Though the teachings of Christian tradition might not have been lived up to perfectly, yet its ideals were questioned by none[2]. This unity of belief furnishes indications of the color which religious folk-customs led to every-day medieval life. Hamlet, brooding

---

[1]Sellery, George C. and Krey, A. C., Medieval Foundations of Western Civilization, p. 127.

[2]Jarrett, Bede, Social Theories of the Middle Ages, p. 213.

over his mother's hasty marriage, bases his hope for remembrance after his death on the building of churches[3], a common type of good work among the wealthy classes of medieval times. Bland speaks of the foundation of a chantry chapel by Henry III[4], and William the Conqueror was buried in St. Stephen's Monastery which he had founded[5].

Although pilgrimages, or journeys of piety to celebrated shrines had been practiced from pre-Christian times, this form of devotion was a popular one in the middle ages. Pilgrimages were made to their many shrines and scenes of apparitions, churches possessing relics of apostles and martyrs, and especially to the Holy Places in Palestine[6]. Ophelia refers to the conventional dress of the pilgrim when she says that her love might be known by his "cockle hat and staff"[7].

The extent to which religious thought colored the speech of daily life is shown by the invocation of God's blessing:

"God be wi' you."[8]

---

[3]Hamlet, III, 2, 125.
[4]Bland, A. E., English Economic History, pp. 22-23.
[5]Kendall, Eliz. K., Source Book of English History, p. 46.
[6]Sullivan, John F., Visible Church, p. 262.
[7]Hamlet, IV, 5, 25.
[8]Ibid., II, 1, 69; IV, 5, 180; II, 2, 553.

Ophelia's prayer for her true love:

> "God have mercy on his soul!
> And on all Christian souls, I pray God"[9]

is paralleled by passages from Venerable Bede in which he bears testimony to the general use of this expression in his times[10].

The speech of Hamlet to his father's spirit, in which he questions whether the ghost be a spirit from heaven or a demon from hell rings true to medieval tone of thought. St. Catherine of Siena, in her letters, voices her concern lest she be circumvented by some snare of the evil one[11]; and St. Bonaventure warns his readers:

> "Diabolus semper habet voluntatem, sed non semper potestatem nocendi, nisi quando a Deo permittitur."[12]

The liturgy may be defined as the exercise of public worship according to Church regulations. It comprises all those prayers, ceremonies and functions prescribed by the Church for use in all services performed by a public minister in her name[13]. Shakespeare's fidelity in depicting

---

[9] Hamlet, IV, 5, 180.
[10] Bede, Venerable, Ecclesiastical History, p. 122.
[11] Scudder, Elizabeth, St. Catherine of Siena as Seen in Her Letters, p. 7.
[12] St. Bonaventure, Expositio in Librum Sapientiae, p. 321, b.
[13] Fallen, Conde B., New Catholic Dictionary, p. 566.

medieval liturgical life in Hamlet may be gauged by a comparison with the liturgical writers of the middle ages.

Chief among the liturgical functions of the Church are the Mass and the Divine Office. To the former Shakespeare refers in Polonius' rather irreverent "by the Mass"[14]; to the latter in the spirit's declaration:

"The glow worm shows the matin to be near."[15]

Although the Mass has been celebrated from Apostolic times, yet as a testimony to its celebration during the medieval period the decree of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury may be cited. In his Penitentiale he ordered that no commemoration of the suicide be made in the oblation (the Mass)[16].

In regard to Matins, the morning office of the Church medieval writers furnish an abundance of references. Dante, in the thirteenth century wrote:

"...Come orologio, che ne chiomi
Nell' ora che la sposa di
Dio surge a mattinar la sposa."[17]

---

[14] Hamlet, II, 1, 50.
[15] Ibid., I, 5, 89.
[16] Theodorus, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Poenitentiale, Capitulum XXVI, P. L. XCIX.
[17] Dante, Alighieri, Paradiso, X, 139-141.

Of the Requiem Mass for the dead, the priest performing the funeral service for Ophelia states:

> "We should profane the service of the dead
> To sing a requiem and such rest to her
> As to peace-parted souls."[18]

In regard to Masses for the dead, St. Louis of France, in the thirteenth century, said to his son:

> "Cause Masses to be sung for my soul."[19]

Shakespeare mentions four of the seven Sacraments: Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Eucharist, and indirectly in his references to his mother's second marriage, Matrimony. The spirit of the dead king refers to the sacrament of Penance, when he complains that he was killed without warning, "not shriving time allowed"[20]. Of this same Sacrament, De Goesbriand quotes from the works of Alcuin, an instruction to travelers, that before setting out on the journey:

> "Iter tuum confessione confirmare memento."[21]

It is customary that the sick be fortified in the pains of mortal illness, and in the agony of death by three

---

[18]Hamlet, V, 1, 239-241.
[19]Joinville, Jean, Memoirs of the Crusades, p. 323.
[20]Hamlet, V, 2, 46.
[21]De Goesbriand, Louis, History of Confession, p. 99.

Sacraments; namely, Penance, Holy Eucharist and Extreme Unction. The spirit of the dead king refers to these three Sacraments in his speech to his son:

> "Cut off even in the blossom of my sin,
> Unhousel'd, disappointed, unaneled,
> No reckoning made, but sent to my account
> With all my imperfections on my head."[22]

Charlemagne regulated thus concerning the administration of these Sacraments in medieval times:

> "...quando quis infirmatur, inducat presbyteros ecclesiae, et orent super eum, unguentes eum oleo in nomine Domini."[23]

and

> "...de infirmis...ut morientes sine sacrati olei unctione et reconciliatione et viatico non difficiant."[24]

Cardinal Gasquet gives a quotation from Myrc's Instructions for Parish Priests illustrative of medieval English custom in regard to the three Sacraments:

> "...thou (the parish priest visiting the sick)
> shalt hym Soyle
> And give hym hosul and holy oyle."[25]

---

[22] Hamlet, I, 5, 76-79.

[23] Carolus Magnus, Capitularia de Caroli Magni de Presbyteris, 17, P. L. XCVII, col. 326.

[24] Carolus Magnus, Capitulare Generale, P. L. XCVII, col. 124.

[25] Gasquet, Francis Aiden, Parish Life in Medieval England, p. 206.

The death of Ophelia is the occasion for a discussion of the rites of burial of suicides. The statement of the officiating priest that

> "...her death was doubtful;
> And, but that great commandment o'ersways the order,
> She should in ground unsanctified been lodged;"[26]

agrees with the legislation of the Church concerning the burial of suicides. Theodore, the Archbishop of Canterbury, rules that in the case of suicides, no commemoration of them should be made in the Mass, nor should their bodies be carried to burial with the singing of psalms[27].

Two references are made to the liturgical function of exorcism, by which the evil spirits are driven out from the bodies of those possessed by them[28]:

> "Thou art a scholar, speak to it, Horatio"[29]

and

> "I'll cross it."[30]

Venerable Bede, in his Ecclesiastical History, speaks of exorcisms, in which evil spirits expelled by the merits and authority of the saints[31], leave their victims.

---

[26] Hamlet, V, 1, 230-232.
[27] Theodorus, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Poenitentiale, Capitulum XXVI, P. L. XCIX, col. 945.
[28] Sullivan, John F., Visible Church, p. 128.
[29] Hamlet, I, 1, 42.
[30] Ibid., I, 1, 127.
[31] Bede, Venerable, Ecclesiastical History, p. 25.

Hamlet's admonition to Ophelia:

"Get thee to a nunnery"[32]

alludes to the monastic institutions for women, found in Egypt as early as the fifth century[33]. The Benedictines, founded in the sixth century by St. Benedict and St. Scholastica, were introduced into England before the seventh century[34].

Three references are made to the liturgical year: one to Christmas, that season

"...wherein our Savior's birth is celebrated";[35]

one to the penitential time of Lent,

"What lenten entertainment";[36]

and another to the weekly observance of the Lord's day,

"...whose sore task
Does not divide the Sunday from the week."[37]

Duchesne says of the feast of Christ's Nativity that from the end of the third century the celebration of the anniversary of the birth of Christ had spread throughout the whole Church[38].

---

[32] Hamlet, III, 1, 121.
[33] Smith, Wm. and Cheetham, Samuel, Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, II, pp. 1410-1414.
[34] Brother Leo, English Literature, p. 92.
[35] Hamlet, II, 3, 319.
[36] Ibid., I, 1, 75-76.
[37] Duchesne, Louis M., Christian Worship, p. 260.

A verse attributed to St. Gregory the Great states the medieval observance of Lent:

> "Ex more docti mystico
> Servemus hoc jejunium
> Deno dierum circulo
> Ducto quater notissimo."[39]

Canute ruled in regard to the observance of Sunday:

> "Et die Solis mercaturam etiam severissime prohibemus, et omnem conventum populi, nisi pro maxima necessitate sit, et venationem, et ab omnibus mundanis operibus in hoc sancto die sedulo cessandum sit."[40]

Shakespeare's enunciation of the requisites of true prayer:

> "My words fly up, my thoughts remain below:
> Words without thoughts never to Heaven go."[41]

correspond closely with the teachings of St. Bonaventure:

> "...nihil aliud in oratione cogitet, praeter illud solum, quod precatur."[42]

Dante, speaking on the same subject of prayer, expresses a similar belief in the Purgatorio of his Divina Commedia:

> "Se orazione in prima non m'aita
> Che surga su di cor che in grazia viva:
> L'altra che val, che in ciel non e udita?"[43]

---

[39] Britt, Matthew, Hymns of the Breviary and the Missal, p. 118.

[40] Canute, Leges Ecclesiasticae Canuti Regis, XV, col. 1174, P. L. CLI.

[41] Hamlet, III, 3, 97-98.

[42] St. Bonaventure, De Perfectione Vitae, Vol. 12, p. 219.

[43] Dante, Alighieri, Purgatorio, IV, 129-131.

The explanation of Purgatory given by the spirit of Hamlet's father that he is

> "...confined to fast in fires,
> Till the foul crimes done in days of nature
> Are burnt and purged away."[44]

corresponds with the teaching of Richard of St. Victor, that those who were prevented by death from making satisfaction for their sins in this life, expiate them in the fires of Purgatory[45].

The offer of Horatio to render aid to the spirit:

> "If there be any good thing to be done,
> That may to thee do ease and grace to me"[46]

is paralleled by two passages from Dante's Purgatorio:

> "...Se tal decreto
> Piu corto per buon preghi no diventa"[47]

and

> "Pero col prego tuo talor mi gieva."[48]

Hamlet's fear that, should he kill the king at prayer, the latter would be saved[49], is substantiated by a passage from the Elucidarium of Honorius, from the twelfth century:

---

[44] Hamlet, I, 5, 11-13.
[45] Richardus Sancti Victoris, De Potestate Ligandi et Solvendi, P. L. CXCVI, col. 1175.
[46] Hamlet, I, 1, 130-131.
[47] Dante, Alighieri, Purgatorio, III, 140-141.
[48] Dante, Alighieri, Purgatorio, XIII, 147.
[49] Hamlet, III, 3, 85-86.

> "...qui tamen ex corde poenitent, etiam in ipsa morte misericordiam invenient sicut latro, in ipso mortis exitu, ut dicitur:
> 'Quacunque hora ingemueris, salvus eris'."[50]

A study of Hamlet from the viewpoint of its presentation of the ecclesiastical life of the middle ages shows that the religious questions dealt with are those concerned with the moral problems raised by the action of the play. A contrast of Shakespeare's religious notions with the teachings of the acknowledged authorities of medieval times cannot fail to impress the student with the soundness of the former's religious beliefs. Whatever may have been his faith; there can exist no doubt of Shakespeare's familiarity with the teachings and practices of the Catholic church, so perfect is the agreement between her medieval doctors and the tragedy, Hamlet.

---

[50]Honorius Augustodunensis, Elucidarium, P. L. CLXXII, col. 155.

Religious Folk Custom

Medieval	Shakespeare
"Almighty Jesus preserve you, both body and soul." Paston letters[1].	"God be wi' you."[1]
Erection of chantry chapels common type of good work in period after Black Death[2].	"He must build churches then; or else he suffer not thinking on."[2]
Oath on Holy Cross: "In the name of the Holy Trinity..." Coronation oath, 970, A. D.[3].	"No, by the rood."[3]
"...it is proverbially said, 'Lord have mercy on their souls."[4]	"God ha' mercy on his soul! And of all Christian souls, I pray God."[4]

---

[1] Colby, Charles W., Selections From Sources of English History, p. 122.
[2] Crossley, Fred H., English Church Monuments, p. 15.
[3] Kendall, Ella. K., Source Book of English History, p. 30.
[4] Bede, Venerable, Ecclesiastical History, p. 122.

[1] Hamlet, II, 1, 69.
[2] Ibid., III, 2, 125.
[3] Ibid., III, 4, 16.
[4] Ibid., IV, 5, 178-180.

Medieval	Shakespeare
Recognition of Providence: "...to the Providence of God was the work committed." Gervase of Canterbury[10].	"There is special providence in the fall of a sparrow."[10]
"I am always afraid, on account of my frailty and the astuteness of the devil." St. Catherine of Siena[11].	"So horribly to shake our dispositions With thoughts beyong the reaches of our souls?"[11]

---

[10] Colby, Charles W., Selections from Sources of Eng. Hist., p. 82.

[11] Scudder, Elizabeth, St. Catherine as Seen in Her Letters, p. 77.

[10] Hamlet, V, 2, 222.

[11] Ibid., I, 4, 55-56.

Medieval	Shakespeare
Pilgrimages common form of devotion. Trips to shrines, not only at home, but in foreign lands[5].	"By his cockle hat and staff."[5]
Recognition of God's will:" ...things grew ever worse... may God mend them when such is His will." Saxon Chronicle[6].	"There's a divinity that shapes our ends, Rough-hew them how we will."[6] "God willing."[6a]
"In hanc itaque modum angelus Satanae transfigurat se in angelum lucis, ut sub virtutis specie formaque sanctitatis ministrat consilia erroris peragitque negotium iniquitatis."[7]	"Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damn'd, Bring with thee airs from heaven or blasts from hell, Be thy intent wicked or charitable, Thou comest in such a questionable shape."[7]
"God sent him down his angel cherubim...So the count's soul they bare to Paradis." Song of Roland[8].	"And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest."[8]
"God...have you in His merciful keeping." Paston Letters[9].	"God bless you. Let him bless thee, too."[9]

---

[5] Casquet, Francis Aiden, Eve of the Reformation, 366.

[6] Kendall, Eliz. K., Source Book of Eng. Hist. pp. 458-460.

[7] Richardus Sancti Victoris, Mysticae Adnotitiones in Psalmos, P.L.CXCVI, col. 398.

[8] Stephenson, Carl., Med. Hist. p. 295.

[9] Colby, Charles W., Selections From Sources of Eng. Hist. p. 121

[5] Hamlet, IV, 5, 5, 25.

[6] Ibid., V, 2, 10-11.

[6a] Ibid., I, 5, 187.

[7] Ibid., I, 4, 20-23.

[8] Ibid., V, 2, 364.

[9] Ibid., IV, 2, 6-7.

Liturgy

Medieval	Shakespeare
Liturgical office said before sunrise. Mentioned by St. Gregory of Tours in 615, A. D.[12].	"The glow worm shows the matin to be near."[12]
Introit of Requiem Mass: "Requiem aeternam, dona, eis, Domine," 2nd century[13].	"Rest, rest, perturbed spirit."[13]
"...suademus istis diebus Quadragesimae omni puritate vitam suam custodire, omnes pariter et neglegentias aliorum temporum his diebus sanctis diluere."[14]	"...what lenten entertainment the players shall receive from you."[14]
"Confessionem coram sacerdotibus agentes." Annals of Fulda, 895, A. D.[15].	"Not shriving time allowed."[15]

---

[12] Smith, Wm. and Cheetham, Samuel, Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, II, p. 1445.

[13] Lefebre, Gaspar, Daily Missal, p. 1776.

[14] St. Benedict, Regula, cap. XLIX.

[15] Goesbriand, Louis, Hist. of Confession, p. 99.

[12] Hamlet, I, 5, 89.

[13] Ibid., I, 5, 182.

[14] Ibid., II, 2, 519-520.

[15] Ibid., V, 2, 46.

Medieval	Shakespeare
"Ut presbyter semper eucharisticam habeat paratam ut quando quis infirmaverit... statim eum communicet, ne sine communione moriatur."[16]	"Cut off even in the blossom of my sin, Unhousel'd, disappointed, unaneled, No reckoning made, but sent to my account With all my imperfections on my head."[16]
"The general council... alone has the authority to canonize anyone." Marsilius of Padua, 1324, A. D.[17].	"...thy canonized bones, hearsed in death."[17]
Exorcisms liturgical functions, hence in Latin language[18].	"Thou art a scholar, speak to it, Horatio."[18]
"...ut virgines non velantur ante viginti quinque annos, nisi rationabile necessitate cogente."[19]	"Get thee to a nunnery."[19]

---

[16] Carolus Magnus, De Presbyteris, P.L. XCVII, col. 326.

[17] Thatcher, Oliver J. and McNeal, Edgar H., Source Book of Medieval History, p. 322.

[18] Toner, P. J., Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 5, 710-711.

[19] Carolus Magnus, Capitularia, 46, P.L. XCVII, col. 498.

[16] Hamlet, I, 5, 76-79.

[17] Ibid., I, 4, 47.

[18] Ibid., I, 1, 42.

[19] Ibid., III, 1, 121.

Medieval	Shakespeare
"Placuit ut qui sibi ipse voluntariam...inferunt mortem, nulla in oblatione pro illis commemoratio fiat, neque eum psalmis ad sepulturam deducantur eorum cadaver."[20]	"Is she to be buried in Christian burial that wilfully seeks her own salvation?"[20]
"Ut opera servilia diebus dominicis non agantur."[21]	"...whose sore task Does not divide the Sunday from the week."[21]
"Si homo...nescit aliquid nisi ubique discurrere et occidit semitipsum quacunque causa, prodest ut oretur pro eo, si ante religiousus erat."[22]	"Her obsequies have been so far enlarged As we have warrantize: her death was doubtful; And, but that great commandment o'ersways the order, She should in ground unsanctified been lodged Till the last trumpet."[22]

---

[20] Theodorus, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Poenitentiale, Cap. XXVI, P. L. XCIX, 945.

[21] Carolus Magnus, Capitularia, P. L. XCVII, 259.

[22] Theodorus, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Poenitentiale, Cap. X, P. L. XCIX, 932.

[20] Hamlet, V, 1, 1.

[21] Ibid., I, 1, 75-76.

[22] Ibid., V, 1. 220-233.

Medieval	Shakespeare
"...thou shalt hym Soyle and give hym hosul and holy oyle." Brit. Mus. Claud. A, ii[23]	"Unhousel'd, disappointed, unaneled."[23]
"Signaculum crucis virtutem passionis Christi ostendit... Quando contra imminens periculum apponitur, adversaria virtus fugatur."[24]	"I'll cross it..."[24]

---

[23] Gasquet, Francis Aiden, Parish Life in Medieval England, p. 206.

[24] Hugo Sancti Victoris, Opera Dogmatica, Pars II, Cap. VIII, P. L. 475.

[23] Hamlet, I, 5, 77.

[24] Ibid., I, 1. 127.

Religious Teaching

Medieval	Shakespeare
Council of Agde (506, A. D.) states: "A man may not marry his brother's widow."[25]	"...married with my uncle, My father's brother... ...O most wicked speed, to post With such dexterity to incestuous sheets."[25]
"O dignitosa coscienza e netta Come t'e picciol fallo amaro morso."[26]	"How smart a lash that speech doth give my conscience."[26]
"...for none comes hither Revisits his home to reveal to men What manner of mansions the Almighty inhabits, What seats of glory are God's abode." Gnomic verse in Cotton MS[27].	"...the dread of something after death The undiscovered country from whose bourne No traveler returns, puzzles the will, And makes us rather bear the ills we have Than fly to those that we know not of."[27]

---

[25] Smith, Wm. and Cheetham, Samuel, Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, I, p. 35.

[26] Dante, Alighieri, Purgatorio, III, p. 35.

[27] Spaeth, J. D., Old English Poetry, p. 157.

[25] Hamlet, I, 2, 151-157.

[26] Ibid., III, 1, 80.

[27] Ibid., III, 1, 87-92.

Medieval	Shakespeare
"...nihil aliud in oratione cogitet praeter illud solum quoe procatur."[28]	"My words fly up, my thoughts remain below: Words without thoughts never to heaven go.[28]
"In carne enim, non spiritu orat, qui pollute mente orat." 1277, A. D.[29]	"Pray can I not, Though inclination be as sharp as will: My stronger guilt defeats my strong intent."[29]
Suicide against natural inclination. Life, a gift divinely bestowed, subject to God's power.[30]	"...that the Everlasting had not fix'd His canon 'gainst self slaughter."[30]
Fourth Commandment. Position of women affected by devotion to Blessed Virgin.[31]	"Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive Against thy mother aught; leave her to heaven And to those thorns that in her bosom lodge, To prick and sting her."[31]
"They (the fiends) could not injure Guthlac's soul." Guthlac (673?-714A.D.)[32]	"And as for my soul, what can it do to that, Being a thing immortal as itself?"[32]

---

28 Bonaventure, St., De Perfectione Vitae, vol.12,219.

29 Servois, Gurgidolensis monachus, Opera Omnia, P. L. CLXXXI, 1277.

30 Rickaby, Joseph, Aquinas Ethicus, II, p. 199.

31 Jarrett, Bede, Social Theories of Middle Ages, p. 92.

32 Gordon, R. K., Anglo-Saxon Poetry, p. 288.

28 Hamlet, III, 3, 97-98

29 Ibid., III, 3, 38-40

30 Ibid., I, 2, 131-132.

31 Ibid., I, 5, 84,85.

32 Ibid., I, 4, 66-67.

Medieval	Shakespeare
Liber scriptus proferetur, in quo totum continetur, unde mundus judicetur." Dies Irae, Thomas of Celano, 1260[33].	"And how his audit stands who knows save heaven?"[33]
"Wherefore it is no marvel that the unclean race of men should greatly fear...the judgment of the Lord." Cynewulf[34].	"...sent to my account With all my imperfections on my head."[34]
"Sine poenitentia et confessione de hac luce ad tormenta inferni migrassi." St. Boniface[35].	"When he is drunk, asleep, or in his rage, ...or about some act That has no relish of salvation in't; Then trip him, that his heels may kick at heaven."[35]
"Ch' assolver non si puo chi non si pente, Ne penter e volere insieme puossi Per la contrazision che nol consente."[36]	"..forgive me my foul murder?' That cannot be; since I am still possess'd Of those effects for which I did the murder, My crown, mine own ambition and my queen."[36]

---

[33] Lefebre, Gaspar, Daily Missal, 1776.

[34] Cook, Albert S. and Tinker, C. B., Select Translations From Old Eng. Poetry, p. 89.

[35] Boesbriand, Louis, History of Confession, p. 106.

[36] Dante, Alighieri, Inferno XXVII, p. 118-120.

[33] Hamlet, I, 5, 182.

[34] Ibid., I, 5, 78-79.

[35] Ibid., III, 3, 89-93.

[36] Ibid., III, 3, 52-55.

Medieval	Shakespeare
"Infernus locus tormentorum est."[37]	"As if he had been loosed out of hell."[37]
"Per lo piacre uman che rinnovella."[38]	"This world is not for aye, nor 'tis not strange That even our loves should with our fortunes change."[38]
"What if when we (prelates) should be correctors of soule we be...but reeds and straws."[39] Thomas Brunton, c. 1376.	"Do not, as some ungracious pastors do, Shew me the steep and thorny way to heaven, Whilst, like a puff'd and reckless libertine, Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads."[39]
"E qui convien, ch'io questo peso porti Per lei, tanto che a Dio se satisfaccio Poi ch'io nol fei tra vivi, qui tra morti."[40]	"Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature Are burnt and purged away."[40]

---

[37] Hugo Sancti Victoris, De Sacramentis, P. L. CLXXVI, p. 586.

[38] Dante, Alighieri, Paradiso, XXVI, 129.

[39] Jasquet, Francis Aiden, Old English Bible, p. 81.

[40] Dante, Alighieri, Purgatorio, XI, pp. 70-72.

[37] Hamlet, II, 1, 83.

[38] Ibid., III, 2, 187-188.

[39] Ibid., I, 3, 47-50.

[40] Ibid., I, 5, 12-13.

Medieval	Shakespeare
"Quod tanta sint in inferno tormenta, ut nulla vox exponere, nullus valeat sermo explanare." 9th century[41].	"...but that I am forbid To tell the secrets of my prison house, I could a tale unfold whose lightest word Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood."[41]
"Sunt multi qui...morte praeventi tempus satisfaciendi non habent, et his quidem in eorum peccatis... purgatorio igne excoquitur."[42]	"No reckoning made, but sent to my account With all my imperfections on my head."[42]
"...it was necessary that angels should be deputed for the guardianship of men, in order to regulate them and move them to good."[43]	"Angels and ministers of grace defend us! Be thou a spirit of health."[43]
"...et ideo pro alio... satisfacit...sibi quidem meretur aeternam gloriam."[44]	"If there be any good thing to be done, That may to thee do ease and grace to me."[44]
"...the Lord changed them all to devils, because they His deed and word Refused to worship," Caedmon's Genesis.[45]	"It is a damned ghost that we have seen."[45]

---

[41] Hayamon, Episcopus Halberstatensis, Opera Omnia, P.L. CXVII, 952.

[42] Richardus Sancti Victoris, De Potestate Ligandi et Solvendi, P. L. CXCVI, 1175.

[43] Thomas, St., Summa Theologica, I, 2e, CII-CXIX.

[44] Bonaventure, St., Liber Sententiarum, IV, 76.

[45] Gasquet, Francis Aiden, Parish Life in Med. England, 206.

[41] Hamlet, I, 5, 13-16.

[42] Ibid., I, 5, 78-79.

[43] Ibid., I, 4, 39-40.

[44] Ibid., I, 1, 130-131.

[45] Ibid., I, 5, 77

Medieval	Shakespeare
"...preghe Devote, per lo tuo ardente affetto Da quella bella spera mi disleghe."[46]	"Nymph, in thy orisons Be all my sins remembered."[46]
"Contra mal dilettar con guiste pene."[47]	"And oft 'tis seen the wicked prize itself Buys out the law: but 'tis not so above."[47]
"Post mortem vero purgatio erit aut nimius calor ignis, Aut magnus rigor frigoris, aut aliud quodlibet genus paenarum; de quibus tamen minimum majus est quam maximum quod in hac vita excogitare potest."[48]	"I am thy father's spirit: Doom'd for a certain time to walk the night, And for the day confined to fast in fires, Till the foul crimes done in days of nature Are burnt and purged away."[48]

---

[46] Dante, Alighieri, Paradiso, XXIV, p. 28-30.

[47] Dante, Alighieri, Paradiso, VII, p. 78-90.

[48] St. Thomas Of Aquin, Summa Theologica, III, p. 237.

[46] Hamlet, III, 1, 88-89.

[47] Ibid., III, 3, 59-60.

[48] Ibid., I, 5, 9-13.

Medieval	Shakespeare
St. Gregory of Nyssa: "If anyone who loves and believes in Christ has failed to wash away his sins in this life, he is set free after death by the fire of Purgatory."[49]	"My hour is almost come When I to sulphurous and tormenting flames Must render up myself."[49]
"Where are the gracious gallants now That of old time I did frequent... Stark dead are some, their lives are spent There rests of them nor mark nor trace." Villon, (b. 1431?)[50]	"...all that lives must die, Passing through nature to eternity."[50]

---

[49] St. Thomas of Aquin, Summa Theologica, III, p. 237.

[50] Stephenson, Carl, Medieval History, p. 706.

[49] Hamlet, I, 5, 4-8.

[50] Ibid., I, 2, 73-74.

FINDINGS

In this study of the Shakespearean tragedy, Hamlet, an attempt has been made to classify the references to medieval civil, political and ecclesiastical life contained in the drama. In order to substantiate the claim of a passage to medievalism, either a parallel quotation from a medieval author, or a reference proving the validity of the claim has been advanced.

This work can lay claims to but a mere glimpse of the field of study--the extent to which it can be carried out is limited only by the time at the disposal of the investigator and the reference matter available. A more detailed exploration of the works of St. Albert the Great would, no doubt, have yielded many interesting parallels to Shakespearean plant and animal lore, had an indexed set of this author been available. However, the medieval authors whose works are contained in the Migne collection, as well as the works of St. Thomas of Aquin and of St. Bonaventure afforded interesting proofs of the medievalism of the allusions selected.

A study of the Divine Comedy of that thoroughly medie-

val poet, Dante, showed a striking similarity to the thought of Shakespeare in many passages.

In the study of medieval popular folk-customs, it was found that Shakespeare's Hamlet was true to the ways of medieval times in its pictures of mourning and marriage customs, of the filial duties of children to parents, to customs of courtesy, to the ways of the hunt, and to the recreations of the rude nobility of the middle ages.

In a study of folk-lore popular beliefs concerning birds, plants and animals were noted. Especially interesting was the collection of superstitious beliefs concerning ghosts, all of which found medieval parallels. Shakespeare agreed with the enunciations of writers of the middle ages in his statements as to the influences of the stars on the lives of men.

The system of astronomy advanced is typically Ptolemaic--the sun moves, the stars revolve in their spheres.

Investigation showed that the doctrine of the rotundity of the earth, hinted in "for so this side of our known earth" (IV, 1, 25-27) was taught by Venerable Bede in the eighth century.

Medieval chemistry, medicine and metallurgy receive notice in references respectively to the four elements of

which all matter was supposed to be composed, to the four humours of the human body, and to the ores found among base minerals.

An investigation as to the allusions to medieval learning and educational systems revealed references to the medieval universities, especially those of France, with hints of the wild lives of the roving students.

The philosophy of the play is medieval--true especially to the teachings of St. Thomas of Aquin, of St. Anselm and of Duns Scotus. Medieval ethics form the basis for judging the morality of action, the reason for action, or of refraining from it.

In its portrayal of medieval political life, Hamlet is found to be true to the notions of feudalism. The idea of government is monarchical, corresponding to that of St. Thomas of Aquin, with whom likewise Shakespeare agrees in his statement of the responsibility of princes to those whom they govern.

The ideas of medieval ecclesiastical life are found to coincide closely with the notions given by writers of those ages, especially with those given by the Church writers and by Dante in his Divine Comedy. The notions of dogma are very correct--so much so that the student cannot but wonder

where Shakespeare acquired his minute knowledge of religious teaching.

It is by no means to be inferred that the drama, Hamlet, is exclusively medieval in tone; it has many references to things contemporary with its author. However, this study does show that in his references to the medieval, Shakespeare exhibits remarkable fidelity to the thought and practice of the middle ages.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express sincere gratitude to Miss Anna Marie Sturmer, her major professor, under whose helpful direction this study was begun and completed; to the librarians of Kansas State College, of St. Benedict's College and of Mount St. Scholastica College who have offered their facilities so generously for research; and especially to Reverend Mother Lucy, O. S. B. and to the community of Mount St. Scholastica Convent, through whom the privilege of graduate study has been made possible.

TRANSLATIONS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE QUOTATIONS IN THESIS

p. 14, 16 "Quod hi nomen"
Let it be considered serious that these misuse the name of the Lord.

p. 15, 23 "Haec est illa corona"
This is that crown, which is represented crowned on the wheel of fortune; the wheel always turns, nor is it permitted to stop for a moment, as soon as it arrives at the summit, it is compelled to descend.

p. 15, 25 "Leo timet"
The lion (the devil) fears the singing of the cock and flees.

p. 15, 26 "Gallus jacentes"
The cock arouses the prostrate
He admonishes the drowsy.

p. 17, 36 "Cometae sunt stellae"
Comets are stars, tailed with flames, which springing forth suddenly, portend change of kingdom, or pestilence, or wars, or tempests, or tides.

p. 17, 38 "...securius dici potest"
It may be said more fearlessly that a comet does not signify the death of a prince, but it only happens thus, that he die at (the time of) its appearance.

p. 18, 41 "Si diversitas morum"
If a diversity of manners be caused by the position of the stars, therefore, there will be no free choice, nor will deliberation avail, nor will there be merit, nor praise nor blame.

p. 18, 44 "Quatuor humores"
The four humours of the human body; sanguine, red choleric, black choleric and phlegmatic.

p. 19, 51 "Forma eius"
Its form is round and spiral.

p. 20, 53 "Homo microcosmus"
Man has been accustomed to be called the microcosmus, that is the lesser world, from ancient times; because through a similitude, he has the figure of the larger world. This can be designated (pointed out) both in the composition of the human body and in the arrangement of the world. Whence the sky may be likened to the head; the air to the chest; the sea to the bowels; the land to the extremities of the body.

p. 23, 8 "Si quis inhonoraverit patrem"
If any one shall have dishonored his father or mother, let him do penance for three years. But if he shall have raised his hand (against them) or shall have inflicted a blow, let him do penance seven years.

p. 26, 24 "Pie pellicane"
O Jesus, Lord, O kindly Pelican,
Do Thou cleanse me, unclean,
In Thine own blood.

p. 27, 25 "Terunt, vagantes daemones."
The wandering demons are happy for the shadows of the night; at cock crow, terrified, they scatter and depart.

p. 27, 26 "Hoc esse signum"
I have learned that this is the signal; they know not of the promise of hope, by which we, favored children, hope for the coming of God.

p. 27, 28 "Leo timet"
The lion (devil) fears the crowing (singing) of the cock, and he flees the power of a certain stone which the cock has in itself.

p. 28, 33 "Ignis inferni"
The fire of hell is rather gloomy than light, because it more hinders than helps the sight.

p. 28, 34 "Se transfigurat"
He changes himself into an angel of light, that he may be adored.

p. 29, 35 "Gallus jacentes"
"The cock rebukes our slumbering eyes
Bestirs who still in sleep would lie,
And shames who would their Lord deny.
New hope his clarion-note awakes
Sickness the feeble frame forsakes,
The robber sheathes his lawless sword,
Faith to the fallen is restored."
Translation by W. J. Copeland in The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal, Matthew Britt, O. S. B. pp. 50-51.

p. 29, 36 "Cujus Christi"
The Nativity of Christ is celebrated today, that through this mystery and through worthy participation (in it) we may be freed from the power of the devil.

p. 30, 38 "Cavete, fratres"
Beware, brethren, of those who deceive, that when anyone is born, his star is created with him, by which his fate is determined.

p. 30, 40 "Non pur per ovra"
Not by the work of that mighty wheel, that marks the seed to some certain end, whether the star be favorable or ill.

p. 30, 41 "...quare dicitur"
Wherefore comets are said to indicate the death of the great, and future wars.

p. 31, 43 "O ciel"
O heaven, to whom I believe, it is given to guide and change mortal state.

p. 31, 44 "Vera praedicunt"
They predict truly concerning the movements and accidents of the heavenly bodies, but not concerning the acts of free (agents).

p. 32, 49 "Col viso retornai"
Her gaze, returning through all the seven spheres.

p. 33, 50 "A darne tempo"
The time now approaching when the star whose conjunction, free from hindrance, brings on a season.

p. 33, 51 "Placet igitur"
It is accepted, therefore, that the number and order of the circles of heavenly spheres, more truly than I may be able, or than human reason may disclose, as Ptolemy disposed the circles in spheres in his Syntaxis and even in this manner they may be found gliding, moving in accord with the theory, on their way.

p. 33, 52 "Inter coelum"
Between heaven and earth hang seven stars (planets)in certain fixed places.

p. 34, 55 "Sunt enim quattuor humores"
There are indeed four humours in man. The sanguine reigns in childhood; the choleric in youth; the melancholy in maturity (manhood); the phlegmatic in old age.

p. 34, 57 "Restat autem"
The earth, however, is said to remain spherical.

p. 36, 68 "Nuovo pensiero"
A new thought arose within me
From which were born other and varied thoughts
And so much from one to the other I wandered.

p. 37, 69 "Si vero in intelligendo"
If truly, in reasoning, the body be fatigued, this is by accident, in as much as the intellect stands in need of the operation of the powers of the senses, through which images are prepared for it.

p. 37, 70 "Per amor de la genta"
Through love of the lady toward whom I lean; in whom my thoughts are centered, for whom my passion burns.

p. 37, 71 "Amor sementa"
Love within you is the seed of every virtue
As well as of every deed that deserves punishment.

p. 38, 72 "Che riso"
For laughter and tears follow so closely
The passion from which each springs
That they least follow the will in the most truthful.

p. 38, 73 "Per lei assai"
Through her it may be easily learned how long in woman lasts the flame of love.

p. 38, 75 "Io gl'imagino"
As he imagines, so he feels.

p. 38, 76 "...terrent somnia"
Dreams terrify, visions disturb (the sleeper).
And notwithstanding that they may not be, in truth, sad or terrible or laborious, yet those who dream dreams are, nevertheless, really saddened, terrified and fatigued.

p. 39, 78 "Nulla poena"
No punishment is more serious than a bad conscience.

p. 39, 79 "Io era come"
I was as one remembering a forgotten dream.

p. 39, 80 "Se non che coscienza"
If conscience does not reassure me,
The good companion which encourages a man
Under the breastplate of feeling himself pure.

p. 40, 81 "Che sempre"
The man in whom thought after thought plunges through his bosom, fails in his purpose, in that one wastes the others strength.

p. 48, 39 "Carolus, a Deo"
Charles, crowned by God.

p. 48, 40 "Karolus, Die gratia"
Charles, by grace of God, King of the Franks.

p. 50, 53 "Ut homocidas"
That murderers, or other criminals, who by law ought to die, should not be excused, if they took refuge in a church, nor should food be given them there.

p. 51, 56 "Bonefacius...hic decrevit"
Boniface decreed this, that none should be dragged from the church.

p. 57, 24 "Carolus divina donante"
Charles, by divine gift and clemency, Emperor Augustus.

p. 57, 26 "Bonefacius...hic decrevit"
Boniface decreed this, that none should be dragged violently from the church.

p. 58, 28 "Ut homocidas"
(See translation of 53, p. 44)

p. 58, 30 "Che in te avra"
Who toward you will have such a kind regard
That in regard to doing and asking, between the two of you, that will be first which between others delays longer.

p. 61, 12 "Diabolus semper"
The devil has always the will, but not always the power of harming, unless when permitted by God.

p. 62, 17 "Como orologio"
As clock, that calleth up the spouse of God
To win her Bridegroom's love at matin's hour.

p. 63, 21 "Iter tuum"
Remember to fortify your journey by confession.

p. 64, 23 "...quando quis infirmatur"
Whenever anyone may be ill, let the priests of the Church be lead in, that they may pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord.

p. 64, 24 "...de infirmis"
Concerning the sick, that dying without the unction of the sacred oil, and reconciliation (confession) and Viaticum, they may not fail.

p. 67, 39 "Ex more"
Taught by mystic custom
We keep this fast
Well known, a circle
Of four times ten days.

p. 67, 40 "Et die Solis"
And on Sunday we prohibit most severely trading, and all assembly of the people, unless for the greatest need, and hunting, and let all diligently cease from worldly affairs on this holy day.

p. 67, 42 "...nihil aliud"
Let him think of nothing other in prayer, than that alone, which is prayed.

p. 67, 43 "Se orazions"
If prayer do not first me aid
That riseth from the heart living in grace
What other kind avails, not heard in Heaven?

p. 68, 47 "Se tal decreto"
If such decree be not by the prayers of good men made shorter.

p. 68, 48 "Pero col prego"
Therefore with thy prayer assist me sometime.

p. 69, 50 "...qui tamen ex corde
Nevertheless, he who shall repent from his heart, even in the very hour of his death, shall find mercy, even as the robber in the very going forth of death, as it is said: "In whatever hour thou wilt have cried, thou wilt have been saved."

p. 71, 7 "In hanc itaque"
In this manner, therefore, the angel of Satan transforms himself into an angel of light, and under the appearance and form of virtue and holiness, he directs the plans of error and carries out the affairs of sin.

p. 72, 13 "Requiem aeternam"
Eternal rest grant unto them, O Lord.

p. 72, 14 "...suademus istis"
We exhort all during these days of Lent to guard their lives in all purity, and let all wash away all negligences of other times during these holy days.

p. 72, 15 "Confessionem coram"
Making confession in the presence of priests.

p. 73, 16 "Ut presbyter semper"
That the priest may always have the Eucharist ready, that whenever any one may become ill, he may immediately give him Communion, lest he die without Communion.

p. 73, 19 "...ut virgines"
That maidens should not take the veil before their twenty-fifth year, unless impelled by reasonable necessity.

p. 74, 20 "Placuit ut"
It is determined that for those who voluntarily inflict death on themselves, there be made no commemoration in the Oblation, nor let their corpse be brought to the grave with psalms.

p. 74, 21 "Ut opera servilia"
That servile works should not be performed on the Lord's day.

p. 74, 22 "Si homo"
If a man be ignorant of everything, save only to wander everywhere, and he kill himself for any cause, it is of benefit to him that he be prayed for, if before he were a religious man.

p. 75, 24 "Signaculum crucis"
The Sign of the Cross shows forth the power of the Passion of Christ. As often as it is opposed to threatening danger, its virtue puts to flight the adversary.

p. 76, 26 "O dignitosa coscienza"
O noble and clear conscience, how bitter a sting to thee is a small fault.

p. 77, 28 "Nihil aliud"
Let him think of nothing other in prayer, save only that which is prayed.

p. 77, 29 "In carne, enim"
He prays in the flesh, not in the spirit, who prays with a sinful (polluted) mind.

p. 78, 33 "Liber scriptus"
The written book is opened wide, in which is contained all by which the world shall be judged.

p. 78, 35 "Sine poenitentia"
Without repentance and confession he departed from this life to the torments of hell.

p. 78, 36 "Ch' assolver"
No power can absolve the impenitent, nor is it possible at the same time to will and to repent, which contradiction absolutely forbids.

p. 79, 37 "Infernus locus"
Hell is a place of torments.

p. 79, 38 "Per lo piacre"
For naught that man desired forever was lasting.

p. 79, 40 "E qui convien"
I must groan under this weight which I carry till I satisfy God; since I did not do it while living, I must do it among the dead.

p. 80, 41 "Quod tanta sint"
No voice can expound, no speech explain how great may be the torments in hell.

p. 80, 42 "Sunt multi qui"
There are many, who, prevented by death, have not time for making satisfaction, and these are indeed refined (purified) from their sins by purgatorial fires.

p. 80, 44 "...et ideo pro alio"
And he therefore, who makes satisfaction for another, deserves indeed eternal glory for himself.

p. 81, 46 "preghe devota"
Thy devout prayer, through thine ardent affection, has set me free from that beautiful sphere.

p. 81, 47 "Contra mal"
Against evil pleasure with just pain.

p. 81, 48 "Post mortem"
After death there will be truly purification, whether by heat or fire, or the greater rigor of cold, or whatever other kind of punishments, of which indeed the least is greater than the greatest which can be imagined in this life.

REFERENCES

Adams, George B., Civilization during the Middle Ages, Scribner's, New York, 1897, 663 p.

Adams, Joseph Quincy, Chief Pre-Shakespearean Plays, Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1924, 712 p.

Albertus Magnus, Meteorum (in Latin), in Opera Omnia, vol. 4, Ludovicum Vives, Paris, 1890, 12 vol.

Alston, G. C., Sanctuary, in Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 13, Encyclopedia Press, New York, 1913, 15 vol.

Ambrose, St., Aeterne Rerum Conditor in Pritt, Matthew, O. S. B., Hymns of the Breviary and Missal, Benziger Brothers, New York, 1924, 283 p.

Barnard, Francis P., Medieval England, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924, 632 p.

Bede, Venerable, Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, Dutton, New York, 1930, 370 p.

Beda, Venerabilis, De Mundi Coelestis Terrestrisque Constitutione (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 90, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1862.

Beda, Venerabilis, De Natura Rerum, (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 90, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1862.

Beda, Venerabilis, De Nativitate Domini, (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 94, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1862.

Bemond, Charles and Monod, G., Medieval Europe, translated by Mary Sloan, Dutton, New York, 1902, 556 p.

Benedict, St. Regula, (in Latin), translated by Boniface Verheyen, O. S. B., 2nd ed. Abbey Student Press, Atchison, Kansas, 1906, 257 p.

Benedictus Diaconus, Collectio Capitularium, Liber 2, (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1851.

Bennett, H. S., English from Chaucer to Caxton, Harcourt, New York, 1928, 246 p.

Betten, Francis S., Ancient and Medieval History, Allyn and Bacon, New York, 1928, 780 p.

Bland, A. E. and Brown, P. A. and Tawney, R. H., English Economic History, Bell, London, 1914, 730 p.

Bonaventure, St., De Perfectione Vitae (in Latin), in Opera Omnia, vol. 12, Marietti, Tours, 1874.

Bonaventure, St., Expositio in Librum Sapientiae, (in Latin), in Opera Omnia, vol. 12, Marietti, Tours, 1874.

Bonaventure, St., Pharetra (in Latin), in Opera Omnia, vol. 7, Marietti, Tours, 1874.

Bonaventure, St., Sententiarum, Liber 2, (in Latin), in Opera Omnia, vol. 2, Marietti, Tours, 1874.

Bonaventure, St., Sermones de Sanctis, (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 42, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1854.

Brentano, Sister Mary Theresa, Relationship of the Latin Facetus Literature to the Medieval Courtesy Poems, Dept. of Journalism Press, Lawrence, Kansas, 1935, 135 p.

Breviarium Monasticum, pars hiemalis, H. Dessain, Mechlin, Belgium, 1926, 1245 p.

Britt, Matthew, The Hymns of the Breviary and the Missal, Benziger, New York, 1924, 283 p.

Brother Leo, C. F. C., English Literature, Ginn, New York, 1928, 738 p.

Brunton, Thomas, Sermon, in Gasquet, Aidan, Old English Bible, p. 66, Nimmo, London, 1897, 347 p.

Bulfinch, T., Golden Age of Myth and Legend, Stokes, New York, 1915, 495 p.

Burchardis, Episcopus Wormaciensis, Librum Decretalis, (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 140, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1880.

Bury, J. B. ed., Cambridge Medieval History, Macmillan, New York, 1924-1936, 6 vol.

Butler, Cuthbert, Benedictine Monachism, Longmans Green, London, 1919, 387 p.

Carolus Magnus, Capitularia (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 97, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1851.

Carolus Magnus, Capitularia de Presbyteris (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 97, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1851.

Carolus Magnus, Opera Omnia, tomus primus (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 97, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1851.

Canutus, Rex Angliae, Leges Ecclesiasticae (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 151, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1881.

Carey, Henry F. tr., The Divine Comedy of Dante, Crowell, New York, 1897, 478 p.

Chambers, Edmund K., The Medieval Stage, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1903, 2 vol.

Chaucer, Geoffrey, Canterbury Tales, with introduction by Manly, John Matthews, Holt, New York, 1928, 721 p.

Colby, Charles W. Ed., Selections from the Sources of English History, Longmans Green, New York, 1920, 325 p.

Cook, Albert S. and Tinker, Chauncey B., Select Translations from Old English Poetry, rev. ed. Ginn, New York, 1926, 296 p.

Crossley, Fred H., English Church Monuments, Scribner's, New York, 1921, 274 p.

Curry, Walter Clyde, Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences, Oxford Press, New York, 1926, 267 p.

Dale, Edmund, National Life and Character in the Mirror of Early English Literature, University Press, Cambridge, 1907, 337 p.

Dante, Alighieri, La Divina Commedia (In Italian) Hoepli, Milan, 1903, 1166 p.

Davis, H. W. C., Medieval England, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924, 632 p.

De Goesbriand, Louis, History of Confession, Benziger, New York, 1884, 190 p.

Dewe, John Adalbert, History of Economics, Benziger, New York, 1908, 334 p.

De Wulf, Maurice, History of Medieval Philosophy, Longmans Green, London, 1926, 2 vol.

De Wulf, Maurice, Philosophy and Civilization during the Middle Ages, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1922, 313 p.

Dodd, William George, Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower, Ginn, Boston, 1913, 255 p.

Duchesne, Louis, Christian Worship, Young, New York, 1903, 558 p.

Dyer, T. F. T., Folk-lore of Shakespeare, Harpers, New York, 1884, 567 p.

Dunn, Joseph, Giovanni Boccaccio in Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 2, pp. 607-608

Emerton, E., Medieval Europe, Ginn, Boston, 1894, 607 p.

Encyclopedia Americana, Americana Corporation, New York, 1929, 30 vol.

Erdman, Johan Eduard, History of Philosophy, Macmillan, New York, 1922, 2 vol.

Ford, J. D. M., Francesco Petrarch in Catholic Encyclopedia vol. 11, pp. 778-779.

Froissart, Sir John, Chronicles of England, France and Spain, translated by Thomas Johnes, American Book Co., 1880, 634 p.

Furness, Horace Howard, ed., New Variorum edition of Shakespeare, Hamlet, 16th ed., vol.1, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1918.

Garrison, Fielding H., Introduction to the History of Medicine, Saunders, Philadelphia, 1921, 942 p.

Gasquet, Francis Aiden, English Monastic Life, Methuen, London, 1924, 306 p.

Gasquet, Francis Aiden, Eve of the Reformation, 3rd ed., Bell, London, 1922, 406 p.

Gasquet, Francis Aiden, Monasticism in the Middle Ages, Bell, London, 1922, 342 p.

Gasquet, Francis Aiden, The Old English Bible, Nimmo, London, 1897, 347 p.

Gasquet, Francis Aiden, Parish Life in Medieval England, Benziger, New York, 1906, 279 p.

Gazeau, P. F., History of the Middle Ages, Schwartz, Kirwin and Fauss, New York, 1877, 501 p.

Glenn, Paul J., History of Philosophy, Herder, St. Louis, 1930, 385 p.

Gneist, Rudolph, The History of the English Constitution, Clowes, London, 1891, 821 p.

Gordon, R. K. ed., Anglo-Saxon Poetry, Dutton, New York, 1934, 367 p.

Grierson, H. J. C., Background of English Literature, Holt, New York, 1926, 290 p.

Grimm, Jacob, Teutonic Mythology, Bell, London, 1883, 3 vol.

Haskins, Chas. H., Studies in the History of Medieval Science, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1927, 416 p.

Hayamon, Episcopus Halverstatensis, Opera Omnia, (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 176, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1880.

Hayes, Carlton J. H. and Moon, Parker Thomas, Modern History, rev. ed. Macmillan, New York, 1933, 945 p.

Hebermann, Charles ed. Catholic Encyclopedia, Encyclopedia Press, New York, 1913, 15 vol.

Herveus Burgidolensis Monachus, Opera Omnia (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 117, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1854.

Honorius Augustodunensis, Elucidarium (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 172, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1954.

Hugo de Folieto, De Medicina Animae (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 176, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1880.

Hugo de Sancte Victore, Opera Dogmatica (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 176, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1880.

Hugo de Sancte Victore, De Sacramentis (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 176, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1880.

Innocentus III, Papae, De Contemptu Mundi (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 217, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1889

Jarrett, Bede, Social Theories of the Middle Ages, Little, Brown, Boston, 1926, 280 p.

Joinville, Jean, Memoirs of the Crusades, Dutton, New York, 1908, 340 p.

Jusserand J. J., English Wayfaring Life of the Middle Ages, Unwin, London, 1920, 464 p.

Kendall, Eliz. K., Source-book of English History, Macmillan, New York, 1907, 485 p.

Kennedy, D. J., St. Thomas Aquinas and Medieval Philosophy, Encyclopedia Press, New York, 1919, 135 p.

Knight, Melvin, Economic History of Europe, vol. 1, Houghton, Mifflin, Boston, 1928, 513 p.

Lechner, Peter, Life and Times of St. Benedict, Benziger, New York, 1900, 285 p.

Lefebre, Gaspar, Daily Missal, Crypt House Press, Gloucester, 1924, 2555 p.

Ludovicus et Lotharius, Capitularia (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 176, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1881

McKeon, Richard, ed., Selections from Medieval Philosophers, Scribner's, New York, 1929, 575 p.

Mercier, Louis, The Challenge of Humanism, Oxford University Press, New York, 1933, 288 p.

Migne, Jacques Paul, Patrologia Latina (in Latin), Paris, 1851-1889, 220 vol.

Minges, Parthenius, Duns Scotus, in Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 5, pp. 194-197

Moore, Norris J., History of Chemistry, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1918, 292 p.

Moulton, Richard Green, The Modern Study of Literature, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1915, 530 p.

Munro, Dana C. and Sellery, George C., Medieval Civilization, enlarged ed. Century, New York, 1926, 594 p.

Munro, Dana C. and Sontag, Raymond James, The Middle Ages, Century, New York, 1928, 565 p.

O'Connor, John B., St. Dominic, in Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 5, pp. 108-109.

Ogg, Frederick, A., Source Book of Medieval History, vol. 1 American Book Co., New York, 1908, 549 p.

Oman, C. W., The Dark Ages, Rivington, London, 1923, 532 p.

Osler, Sir William, Evolution of Modern Medicine, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1921, 243 p.

Paetow, Louis J., Guide to the Study of Medieval History, rev. ed. Crofts, New York, 1931, 643 p.

Pallen, Conde B. comp., New Catholic Dictionary, Universal Knowledge Foundation, New York, 1929, 1073 p.

Pirenne, Henri, Medieval Cities, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1925, 249 p.

Power, Eileen, Medieval People, Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1934, 216 p.

Prudentius, Ad Gallicinum (in Latin), in New Variorum, Hamlet, I, vol. 15, p. 23.

Putnam, G. H., Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages, Putnam, New York, 1896, 2 vol.

Rand, Edward Kennard, Founders of the Middle Ages, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1929, 355 p.

Richardus Sancti Victoris, Mysticae Adnotationes in Psalmos, (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 196, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1880.

Rickaby, Joseph, Aquinas Ethicus, Benziger, New York, 1896, 2 vol.

Robinson, James Harvey, Readings in European History, Ginn, New York, 1904, 2 vol.

Robinson, Pascbal, St. Francis of Assisi, in Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 6, pp 221-230.

Salzman, L. F., English Life in the Middle Ages, Oxford University Press, New York, 1926, 288 p.

Scudder, Elizabeth, St. Catherine of Siena as Seen in Her Letters, Dutton, New York, 1905, 352 p.

Seelig, M. G., Medicine in Historical Outline, Williams and Wilkins, Baltimore, 1925, 207 p.

Seignobos, Charles, The Feudal Regime, Holt, New York, 1902, 70 p.

Seignobos, Charles, History of Medieval and Modern Civilization, Scribner's, New York, 1907, 436 p.

Sellery, G. D. and Krey, A. C., Medieval Foundations of Western Civilization, Harpers, New York, 1929, 633 p.

Shahan, Thomas J., The Middle Ages, Benziger, New York, 1904, 432 p.

Shakespeare, William, Hamlet, edited by Hooper, Cyrus L., Ainsworth, Chicago, 1902, 199 p.

Sigbertus, Gemblacensis, Chronica Sigberti, (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, Vol. 160, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1881.

Smith, Toulmin, English Guilds, Trubner, London, 1870, 682 p.

Smith, Wm. and Cheetham, Samuel, Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, Murray, London, 1876-1880, 2 vol.

Spaeth, J. Duncan, Old English Poetry, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1922, 268 p.

Stephenson, Carl, Medieval History, Harpers, New York, 1935, 797 p.

Stow, John, Survey of London, Dutton, New York, 1912, 518 p.

Sullivan, John F., The Visible Church, 5th ed., Kenedy, New York, 1924, 278 p.

Tappan, E. M., When Knights were Bold, Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1911, 365 p.

Taylor, Howard Osborne, The Medieval Mind, 4th ed., Macmillan, New York, 1925, 2 vol.

Thatcher, Oliver J. and McNeal, Edgar H., Source Book of Medieval History, Scribner's, New York, 1905, 619 p.

Theodorus, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Poenitentiale, (in Latin), in Patrologia Latina, vol. 99, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1864.

Thomas Aquinas, St., Rhythmus (in Latin), in Breviarium Monasticum, pars hiemalis, pp.(399-400).

Thomas Aquinas, St., Summa contra Gentiles, from 3rd book, translated by English Dominican Fathers, Burnes, Oates and Washbourne, London, 1928, 210 p.

Thomas Aquinas, St., Summa Theologica, Part 3, translated by English Dominican Fathers, Burnes, Oates and Washbourne, London, 1922, 376 p.

Thomas, P. G., English Literature before Chaucer, Arnold, London, 1924, 156 p.

Thompson, James Westfall, Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, Century, New York, 1928, 900 p.

Thorndike, Lynn, History of Medieval Europe, Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1917, 682 p.

Toner, P. H., Exorcisms, in Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 5, pp. 710-711.

Turner, William, History of Philosophy, Ginn, New York, 1903, 674 p.

Rubarweg, Friedrich, History of Philosophy, translated by George S. Morris, Scribner's, New York, 1887, 561 p.

Villehardouin, Geoffri de and De Joinville, Jean, Memoirs of the Crusades, translated by Sir Frank Marzials, Dutton, London, 1933, 340 p.

Waddell, Helen Jean, ed. and tr., Medieval Latin Lyrics, Smith, New York, 1930, 352 p.

Walsh, James J., The Thirteenth, the Greatest of Centuries, Catholic Summer School Press, New York, 1907, 436 p.

Ward, Adolphus William, ed., Old English Drama, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1892, 415 p.

Weber, Alfred, History of Philosophy, new ed., Scribner's, New York, 1925, 604 p.

Wedewer, Hermann and McSorley, Joseph, A Short History of the Catholic Church, 8th ed. Herder, St. Louis, 1927, 357 p.

Wells, John Edwin, A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400, Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Haven, Conn. 1926, 441 p.

William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum, in Kendall, Eliz. K., Source Book of English History, pp. 42-43.

Willman, Otto, Science of Education, vol. 1, Archabbey Press, Beatty, Pa. 1922, 351 p.

Wingfield-Stratford, Esme, History of British Civilization, Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1930, 1332 p.